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Southern Folklore Quarterly

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PASTERNAK'S USE OF FOLKLORE, MYTH, AND EPIC SONG IN DOCTOR ZHIVAGO

by

Mary and Paul Rowland

BORIS PASTERNAK's novel, *Doctor Zhivago*, exhibits a fusion of several literary approaches. The poems at the end capture the distilled essence of the larger themes. The main vehicle of the prose work is a quasi-realistic narrative of twentieth-century men and women as they live through the stormy upheavals of the Russian Revolution. These characters are more than individuals, however; they are also figures in an allegory, personifications of distinct social, political, and spiritual groups of the period. For example, in Yury Andreyevich Zhivago, his friends Gordon and Dudorov, and his uncle Nikolay Nikolyevich, we recognize members of the intelligentsia. The heroine, Larisa, and her mother typify the small, insecure middle class.¹ Anna Ivanovna Gromeko, with her family and friends, represents the court circles and nobility, and her death is a miniature parable of the overthrow of the tsarist regime.

In addition, the characters have still another dimension: their names point to prototypes in folklore, myth, history, and saints' legends. Pasternak's mythohistoric approach answers, in general, to T. S. Eliot's term "mythical method," first applied to Joyce's *Ulysses*: "In using the myth, in manipulating a continuous parallel between contemporaneity and antiquity, Mr. Joyce is pursuing a method which others must pursue after him. They will not be imitators. . . . It is simply a way of controlling, of ordering, of giving a shape and a significance" to the present.² Life and art had taught Pasternak that

¹For other aspects of the highly symbolic figure of Larisa, see Mary and Paul Rowland, "Larisa Feodorovna: From Another World," *The Kenyon Review*, XXII (Summer, 1960), pp. 493-501.

²Eliot's review: "Ulysses, Order, and Myth," *The Dial*, LXXV (December, 1923), p. 483. Another author's use of the mythical method is described by William M. Jones in "Name and Symbol in the Prose of Eudora Welty," *Southern Folklore Quarterly*, XXII (December, 1953), pp. 173-185.

what is called inspiration consists in gazing into the past. That daring and "subversive" thought appeared in his autobiographical sketch *Safe Conduct*, published in Leningrad in 1931, after a decade of fanatic endeavor by the Soviet leaders to cut all Russia's ties with the past.³ In the same passage Pasternak goes on to explain how the past can be made to serve the present. He illustrates the artist's contribution to this aim by the striking analogy of a railway train: "I always saw the goal as the change-over of the symbol from cold axles to hot, in letting the outlived on to the track and into the chase after life. . . . We take people as our symbols [and] set them in their natural surroundings." This passage adumbrates the characters in his *Doctor Zhivago*.

The richly symbolic tapestry of the novel is woven out of many strands, prominent among them being folklore, epic songs, myths, and legends — everything from a brief glance at an old custom or superstition to the evocation of a whole folk epos. The artist uses all these elements not only to give warmth, color, and depth to his narrative but also to structure and vivify his themes. From the wealth of material in the novel we have selected a few examples — well known in Russia but little known here — which will illustrate Pasternak's method and at the same time shed maximum light on his philosophic message.

We have chosen four characters personifying the causes, development, and ultimate, destructive nature of the Russian Revolution, together with three others personifying the healing powers which, even amid temporary defeat, are laboring towards renewal of the wounded human spirit. Pasternak sees the life-death dichotomy in terms of opposing forces coming down the centuries, constantly reclothed in new flesh and waging the old battle under new banners. Continuity between past and present is suggested by the names and other details which link the characters to their prototypes. The charactonym is, of course, a familiar tool of writers in the mytho-allegorical genre, and the Russian pattern of triple names for each person — baptismal, patronymic, and surname — seems made to order for this device. Thus, practically every one of the many personae in *Doctor Zhivago* points to more than one mythological or historical figure whose deeds, legendary or real, disclose the motives of the fictitious character in the novel.

The first of the destructive, death-dealing forces we consider is the vicious lawyer, Komarovsky, a depiction of the greed and corruption which sapped the morale of Russia during the old regime. The root of

³*Safe Conduct, An Autobiography and Other Writings*, (New York, 1958), p. 32.

Komarovsky's name is *komar* (mosquito), and the addition of *-ov* and *-sky* make him doubly the descendant of the mosquito. Primitive Siberian peoples have invented many fables to explain the swarms of mosquitoes which during the short northern summer appear in stinging clouds to make life almost unbearable for man and beast. Typical of these myths is one from the Ostyak Samoyeds. A hero once determined to slay a giant cannibal who had devoured his parents and preyed on his tribe. He managed to kill the ogre only to find that it came to life again. Finally he thought of burning its body to put an end to this cycle of rebirth. But not even fire could destroy the demon. From burnt-out embers the jaws could be heard grinding together. Then its voice cried out that it would exist eternally to afflict mankind, for its wind-borne ashes would turn into mosquitoes and suck the blood of beasts and men.⁴

In the light of this myth we recognize Komarovsky as a symbol not only of corruption under the old regime, but of deathless and omnipresent evil. No wonder the ubiquitous lawyer turns up everywhere — in opulent homes and tenements alike, "sucking the blood" of both rich and poor. At the end of the Civil War, which has supposedly wiped out the oppressor classes of which Komarovsky was a part, the indestructible parasite reappears, flourishing as ever, now hand in glove with the Bolshevik regime.⁵

Our next examples of the demonic forces let loose by the Revolution are found in the Mikulitsyn family of Varykino: Averky Stepanovich, his wife Elena Proklovna, and his son, Liberius. These characters appear in Chapters 7 through 14, where the richest vein of folklore in the novel lies. The scene is laid in the Urals and Siberia whither Dr. Zhivago and his family flee from a life of starvation and pestilence in Moscow. Their destination is Varykino, the Krueger family estate from which Grandfather Krueger has vanished but where the family hopes to find a haven. Varykino proves to be a remote, wild, mysterious place. There is a solitary white house on a high hill, overlooking on one side a treeless and desolate plain and on the other a deep ravine called the Shutma (*shut*, jester — a euphemism for the Devil — plus *tma*, darkness). In the Shutma wolves are constantly roaming. Since the former owner, Ivan Krueger, suggests the Imperial line, his house

⁴Uno Holmberg, *Finn-Ugric, Siberian Mythology*, in *The Mythology of All Races* (Boston, 1927), IV, pp. 386-387.

⁵Another striking aspect of Komarovsky is developed by Mary and Paul Rowland in "Doctor Zhivago: A Russian Apocalypse," *Religion in Life*, XXX (Winter, 1960 61), pp. 124-125.

and estate stand for Russia itself, ruined by civil war and regressing toward savagery.⁶ Varykino, which may be translated "Place of Boiling Pitch," prefigures torture and martyrdom. That is precisely its role in *Zhivago* — the arena where the vanquished go and wait for their hour of doom to strike.

When the refugee family arrive unannounced at the Krueger estate, they are met by the former manager, Mikulitsyn, and his wife. Mikulitsyn is a Social Revolutionary, member of the party directly descended from the nineteenth-century *narodniki*, whose slogan was "*V Narod!*" (To the People!) Social Revolutionaries, who envisioned a cooperative peasant rather than a proletarian society, defended the interests of the peasants. Hence the perfect prototype for Mikulitsyn is Mikula Selyaninovich (Son of a Villager), folk hero, champion, and beau ideal of the peasant. The legendary Mikula was a Russian Paul Bunyan. A *bogatyr* (hero) of prodigious strength, he could out-plow, out-lift, and out-walk all the other heroes. In the *bylina* (folk epic) about Volga and Mikula, the mighty plowman is described as a handsome, curly-haired, falcon-eyed chap who, even when following the plow with his giant strides and flinging trees and boulders right and left, wore green morocco boots with pointed toes and high heels, and a black silk shirt belted, Russian style, with a tasseled sash. Mikulitsyn's appearance is reminiscent of his namesake's: "He had regular features. He tossed his hair back and took great strides, planting his feet squarely on the ground. In summer he wore a Russian shirt tied with a silk tasseled cord." (Page 272; all page references to *Doctor Zhivago* are to the Pantheon Books edition.) Most important role of Mikula was that of the peasants' traditional provider. When asked his name and patronymic, he would reply:

I'll scythe some rye and I'll stack it in ricks,
I'll stack it in ricks and I'll thresh it at home,
Then I'll brew some beer for the peasants to drink,
And the peasants will praise me,
Young Mikula Selyaninovich.⁷

⁶Ivan Krueger (father of Anna Ivanovna), "landowner and ironmaster," suggests the iron mastery of Ivan the Terrible, who ruthlessly consolidated the absolute power of the monarch, extending the theory that the prince was sole owner of the land and that all other persons had merely temporary use of it. "Krueger" (German *Krüger*, inn-owner, inn-keeper) recalls the German blood added to the Imperial Russian line after Peter the Great.

⁷There are many variants of the "Volga and Mikula" *bylina*, a standard one being that found in *Russkaya ustnaya slovesnost*, ed., Mikhail N. Speransky (Moscow, 1919), II, pp. 7-13. Isabel Hapgood combined several versions in her transla-

The Social Revolutionary party, like its symbol Mikulitsyn/Mikula, had at heart a deep, unselfish concern for the oppressed peasants. But despite incredible work and sacrifice, this party lost out to its offspring, the Social Democratic party, whose Bolshevik wing is portrayed by Mikulitsyn's son, Liberius. When the Zhivagos arrive at Varykino, Mikulitsyn is in a dangerous position. Yet disregarding his own peril and his wife's protest, he shelters the homeless refugees—relatives of Krueger and therefore "class enemies." In this man, Pasternak pays tribute to the fundamental compassion and self-sacrifice from which the revolutionary movement sprang.⁸

Unfortunately, between the noble idea of emancipation and the reality of the Revolution something had gone wrong. "I don't understand a thing and never will," Mikulitsyn repeats, but the secret is disclosed to the reader of *Doctor Zhivago*. Emblem of one fatal policy is Mikulitsyn's gun, lying at the center of his draftsman's table: that is, the *narodniki* had made assassination of government officials the chief instrument in building their new State. The two wives of Mikulitsyn reveal the other portentous choice.

Mikulitsyn's first wife is dead, but references to her intimate that Christianity was formerly a part of his life. This wife is remembered as "a cherub, a white angel," whose maiden name, Tuntseva (from *tunets*, tuna), refers to the fish as a Christian symbol. Her death implies the loss of religious faith by the leftist intelligentsia.

The paganism and faith in science which replaced Christianity are reflected in Mikulitsyn's second wife.⁹ Elena Proklovna, lovely as Helen of Troy, symbolizes the Hellenism appearing among the left-wing élite during the early twentieth-century "Russian Renaissance." Golden-haired Elena, emerging goddess-like from the woods at Varykino, calls to mind the literary cult of the "Very Beautiful Lady" promoted by the poets Blok and Bely. Other enthusiastic Hellenists

tion, "Volga and Mikula Selyaninovich the Villager's Son," in *Epic Songs of Russia* (New York, 1886), pp. 28-36.

Mikulitsyn's former job as Krueger's manager awakens an echo of the adventure this *bylina* celebrates. Prince Volga Svyatoslavovich was so much impressed with Mikula's physical prowess that he invited the plowman to help him collect tribute from the Prince's three towns. Mikula accepted and thus, like Mikulitsyn, joined forces with the "other side" for a time.

⁸Averky Stepanovich's other prototypes further reveal his nature and motives. St. Averkius is said to have cast out a stubborn demon from the daughter of Emperor Marcus Aurelius. St. Stephen, of course, was the first Christian martyr.

⁹Elena Proklovna's names reach outside Russian folklore, but explanations of them are necessary for an understanding of her prototype in Slavic myth.

extolled the beauty and joy to be found in ancient Greek religions.

The extreme Radicals, consisting of atheists and materialists, poured scorn on the notion of saving the world by beauty: "all this highbrow stuff—fauns and nenuphars and 'Let's be like the sun.'" (p. 41) The direction in which the Radicals trended is indicated by Elena's patronymic, Proklovna. Her "spiritual father" is Proclus, the great schoolman of Neoplatonism, which was the final dessicated fruit of Hellenistic philosophy. Proclus approached philosophy through mathematics so as to give it "scientific form." In his elaborate system he made good all defects and smoothed away any contradictions by pseudo-logical distinctions and speculations. This is precisely the mechanical, sterile approach to life which lies at the heart of "scientific Marxism" and which is defended by the same kind of specious dialectic. Marxism is being likened to Neoplatonism in Elena Proklovna's questions about dry, unrelated minutiae and in her proud admission that she had gone to school to a famous Bolshevik teacher.

The philosophies imaged in Elena Proklovna were eventually translated into deeds entirely divorced from the beauty of the concepts. Likewise the true nature of handsome Elena is disclosed not in her name but in her actions. Her spiteful, heartless behavior toward the Zhivagos, especially the abrupt manner of firing abstruse questions at the Doctor, leads us to her archetype in Slavic folklore. Only one apparition behaved thus: the beautiful but malign Poludnitsa. The peasants believed this demonic spirit to be especially fond of wandering at midday about fields and woods in the form of a slender, airy, white-clad lady. Her delight was in hurting people. The Poludnitsa twisted the heads of field-workers, causing agonizing pain. Sometimes she carried a whip, sometimes a sharp scythe to strike any who crossed her path, and the victim was doomed to early or violent death. Her favorite prank, however, was to propound hard questions as soon as she met some unfortunate person. If he was unable to answer correctly, she took her sharp scythe and cut off his head or cleft it in two down through the neck.¹⁰ In Elena Proklovna, the Poludnitsa, is dramatized the truth that the spirit of materialism and "beautiful" paganism leads mankind to a demonic world.

The crowning tragedy of Mikulitsyn's life is his son, Liberius Averkiyevich, who impersonates the Bolshevik Revolution. Nicknamed

¹⁰Jan Máchal, *Slavic Mythology*, in *The Mythology of All Races*, III, pp. 267-268. Also, W. R. S. Ralston, *The Songs of the Russian People* (London, 1872), pp. 147-148.

"Comrade Forester," he is the infamous partisan commander of the "Forest Brotherhood," a Red detachment fighting the Whites in the Siberian taiga. Liberius, so called by "his fool of a father, who worshipped freedom," seems to be the only character in the novel ironically named. He is actually a composite image of the enslaving force which is gripping Russia. Unlike his father, he feels no brotherly love or compassion for the people—only naked greed for power and utter indifference to the suffering he causes.

None of Liberius's names discloses his real identity; that we must discover from clues given indirectly. Two of his prototypes are from Russian folk epics. One is foreshadowed in the "transient thoughts, intuitions, analogies" that the Doctor jots down in his journal (p. 286). This entry begins as a meditation on nightingales in poetry and goes on to note that nightingales are beginning to sing at Varykino. Two phrases of the bird's song have impressed him particularly: "a greedily repetitive *tyokh-tyokh-tyokh*, in response to which the vegetation, all covered with dew, trembled," and another which sounded grave, like a warning: "*Och-nis! Och-nis! Och-nis!*" (Wake up! Open your eyes! Look out!) Significantly, Yury Andreyevich connects these thoughts with a character of Russian folklore, Solovey Razboynik (Nightingale Robber). For many years, so the story goes, the straight road to Kiev, the King's town, was abandoned as a death trap because it led through the deep forest of Bryansk where a band of robbers lay in wait. Here "Nightingale," the greatest brigand of them all, sat on the top of seven oaks, watching the road. When a traveler approached, the robber "piped like a nightingale" and then made frightful sounds to paralyze his victim with terror.

At his nightingale whistle,
At his wild forest call,
The grass is all a-tremble,
The flowers shed their petals,
The dark forest bows down to the ground,
And all good people fall down dead. (p. 286)

The import of all these reflections on nightingales is made clear on the evening when Yury Andreyevich is taken captive by the partisans (pp. 302-305). Details matching those in the epic song, *Ilya of Murom and Nightingale the Robber*, pervade this scene.¹¹ *Bylina* and novel depict a solitary horseman riding through a deep

¹¹Hapgood, *Epic Songs of Russia*, pp. 77-87. This *bylina* has also been retold by Charles Downing in *Russian Tales and Legends* (London, 1957), pp. 36-42.

forest close by a river. For each rider a choice of roads is involved, with one of them leading to the King's town (*Vasilevskoye* in the novel). Both Ilya and Zhivago make affectionate appeals to their horses. Just before the Doctor's capture a nightingale begins to sing: "*Och-nis! Och-nis! Och-nis!*" (Open your eyes!—that is, to the realities of this Revolution.) Shortly, horse and rider are halted by terrifying sounds—gunshots. Here the parallels with the *bylina* end. The shots are followed by the appearance of three armed horsemen whose odd costumes indicate the classes of people the Revolution has plundered. The nightingale has revealed the truth. Liberius/Comrade Forester is nothing but a modern Robber Nightingale, and his retinue—the famed Forest Brotherhood—a band of brigands.

After eighteen months of involuntary service with the Red partisans, Dr. Zhivago's eyes are fully opened to the nature of the Bolshevik leadership. It seems to him that Russia has suffered a spiritual atavism. To expose the setback to human values, Pasternak evokes a Russian version of the well-known myth of the werewolf, whose greatest delight was shedding blood. This motif runs through the Siberian chapters and its chilling overtones are heard in the statement: "That period confirmed the ancient proverb, 'Man is a wolf to man.'" (p. 378) The wolves roaming the Shutma are part of this symbolism. So is a sick peasant whom the Doctor finds to have lupus, a tuberculous disease named "wolf" because it eats into the skin. The entire theme is skillfully built up to a climax with Liberius at the center.

Ancient Russian beliefs about werewolves seem to have clustered around the figure of an eleventh-century prince, a great-grandson of the famous Prince (St.) Vladimir of Kiev. Prince Vseslav of Polotsk was probably no more power-hungry, rapacious, and cruel than most other scions of the Kiev ruling family, but he was a more dramatic figure. His daring campaigns, characterized by dizzying ups and downs of fortune, were marked by great bloodshed. As a commander, Vseslav was so adroit, swift, and at times incredibly lucky that his contemporaries were sure he possessed magic powers. Even during his lifetime his exploits were being fused with the werewolf myth.

Written records of those early years are full of such allusions. *The Song of Igor's Campaign* states bluntly:

Vseslav the prince judged men;
as prince, he ruled towns;
but at night he prowled
in the guise of a wolf.¹²

¹²*The Song of Igor's Campaign*, trans., Vladimir Nabokov (New York, 1960), p. 62.

Though not actually calling him a werewolf, the *Primary Chronicle* states that he was born with a caul (sign of a magician/werewolf in Slavic folklore) which he wore all his life as a talisman, and "therefore he was merciless in bloodshed."¹³ The *Chronicle* for the year 1064 likewise associates with Vseslav many natural phenomena which in popular belief were accounted signs of the werewolf. Especially ominous were eclipses of the sun and moon (werewolves were thought to eat them because they loved darkness) and also the appearance of a large red star with bloody rays.

Popular ballads were even more explicit. In the *bylina* celebrating Vseslav's adventures, his name becomes Volkh Vseslavevich—*volkh* meaning "magician," and the suffix *-vich* indicating that Vseslav is the prototype.¹⁴ His magical birth is accompanied by the disappearance of the sun and the triumph of night, with a sky full of glittering stars. When only an hour and a half old, the precocious and blood-thirsty Volkh roared out a demand for armor instead of swaddling-clothes. At twelve he had mastered the art of metamorphosis, and at fifteen, with a picked retinue, he began his famous hunting expedition (thought to be a metaphorical description of Vseslav's conquest of Novgorod in 1067). His men spread silk nets and Volkh changed himself at will into a bird, a fish, or a wolf, driving all the animals into his nets. There followed an indiscriminate slaughter, he let nothing escape, "and he regaled his valiant retinue." (line 86)

Volkh Vseslavevich, the Prince-werewolf, is the climactic figure evoked by the partisan commander. Liberius too, we have learned, was precocious and wild. He was fifteen when he went to war and he is now a great military leader with a picked retinue. Many details used to describe the nights at Varykino hint at the astronomical portents related in the *bylina* and the *Chronicle*. Night being the time when the werewolf did his coursing about, the *bylina* states that "The retinue sleeps, but Volkh sleeps not" (line 8); and similarly Liberius stays awake most of the night, wearing Dr. Zhivago out by talking. The ominous dimming of the sun—mark of the man-wolf—is noted just before Liberius enters to have his last conversation with the Doctor: "The sun was not the sun to which the earth was used, it was a changeling." (p. 371)

¹³The *Russian Primary Chronicle*, trans., Samuel H. Cross, *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature* (Cambridge, 1930), XII, p. 288.

¹⁴Roman Jakobson and Marc Szeftel, "The Vseslav Epos," *Russian Epic Studies* (Philadelphia, 1949), pp. 13-80. This thorough treatment contains a translation of the oldest record of *Volkh Vseslavevich*, "one of the rarest subjects in Russian oral epic tradition" (p. 13).

The fable of Volkh and his men slaughtering all the terrified animals driven by magic into his nets is a kind of preview of the tragic scene at the last partisan camp. Hapless peasant soldiers and their refugee families have been uprooted from their homes and lured into the net of Liberius, a net woven of the silken, lying word "Freedom." Now they are being slaughtered in savage atrocities by both Reds and Whites. People and animals go mad with terror and agony.

The dramatic unveiling of the savage heart of the Revolution is performed by Kubarikha, a colorful cattle-healer. In the form of "a lesson in magic," she tells a poor, half-dead peasant woman that she can make any man she fancies pine for her. All Kubarikha needs to do is go out in a mid-winter blizzard, thrust a knife into a pillar of snow, draw it out, and it will be red with blood.

Now, how can it be, you tell me, that blood should come out of a snowspout that is made only of wind and snow? That's just it, my dear, that whirlwind isn't just wind and snow—it's a werewolf. . . . That is what I struck with my knife, and that it why there is blood on it. Now, with that knife I can cut away the footprint of any man, and I can sew it with a silk thread to your skirt, and that man—whoever he is, Kolchak, or Strelnikov, or any new Tsar they set up—will follow you wherever you go. And you thought I was telling lies! You thought it was: "Come to me, all ye poor and proletarians of the world!" (p. 366)¹⁵

Kubarikha is saying that anywhere you cut into the great "storm" (Bolshevik symbol for the Revolution), what you find is a werewolf. All the leaders—Red and White alike—are werewolves, who court the people only to shed their blood.

Russia is indeed a captive of the death-dealing spirit of the brute, but all hope is not lost. Antagonists of the werewolf are still re-

¹⁵Pasternak has incorporated two folk beliefs in this passage. Ralston, in his *Songs of the Russian People*, tells of the peasants' idea that magicians can cause whirlwinds and that sometimes "a wizard is being whirled about in the 'dust-spouts' . . . seen in summer in the open plains. And so if a sharp knife be thrown with good aim at one of them, it will fall to the ground streaming with blood" (p. 382). Pasternak has substituted winter for summer and a snow-spout for the dust-spout. The widespread belief about "cutting away footprints" is explained by Frazer as a notion that "Magic may be wrought sympathetically . . . through impressions left by the body in sand or earth." (*The Golden Bough*, I, pp. 207-211). Most peoples mentioned by Frazer used the footprint magic in order to inflict injury, but Slavic girls frequently dug up soil within the footprint to use for a love charm.

sisting, still working at the slow task of freeing Russia and bringing her back into the life-giving world of the human spirit. Again looking into the past for inspiration, Pasternak draws from folklore three examples of the civilizing forces which have helped man rise above his bestial nature.

Kubarikha, the peasant veterinary, exhibits the healing and refining force operating among primitive folk—a power, so Pasternak holds, everywhere found in the gifted, spiritually minded few. The woman cattle-doctor is, in truth, a skilled amateur psychiatrist. While ostensibly curing animals with magic spells and ointments, she is often ministering to the minds of their human owners, sick with fear and grief. In the Russian text, Kubarikha is called a *vorozheya*, meaning "fortune-teller," not "witch," as the English-language editions have it. The witch (*vedma*) of Russian popular superstition is consistently evil, a fiend who delights in killing human beings and infecting herds with the "cow death." The fortune-teller, on the contrary, suggests the *veschchaya zhena* (prophetic woman) who was held in high esteem by the pre-Christian Slavs as prophetess, poet, and medicine woman.¹⁶

It is clear that Kubarikha's compassionate and life-nourishing spirit opposes the death-dealing spirit of Liberius. Her adversaries perceive this and call her *Zlydarikha* (She-devil), but her other names paint a different picture. We learn (p. 315) that Kubarikha is also known as Medvedikha (She-bear). Primitive Siberian peoples regarded the bear as the holiest of all wild animals, able to understand human speech, and harmless if respectfully treated. One sign of respect was avoidance of the bear's real name and substitution of a long list of metonyms.¹⁷ The name "Kubarikha" (*kubar*, spinning-top) seems to be such a metonym, an apparent reference to the circling dance of women around a bear just slain, while they entreat the dead god not to be angry with those who have killed him out of their dire need. Eating the bear was a sacred rite, and his death meant release of his spirit for future rebirth.¹⁸ The ancient Slavs, according to Edward Stankiewicz, also believed "in the human origin of the bear, the image of the bear as the incarnation of a deceased man, [but] the demonic character of the wolf and its totemic connection with the werewolf."¹⁹ Thus Kubarikha-Medvedikha is reminiscent of the cult of the bear,

¹⁶Ralston, *The Songs of the Russian People*, pp. 168, 392-402.

¹⁷Holmberg, pp. 83-85.

¹⁸Frazer, *Golden Bough*, II, p. 195.

¹⁹"Slavic Kinship Terms and the Perils of the Soul," *Journal of American Folklore*, LXXI (April-June, 1958), p. 117.

embodiment of a crude reverence for life and a groping after immortality, whereas the partisan commander suggests the cult of the wolf, emblem of feral butchery and death.

For a symbol of nourishing and healing forces in nature, Pasternak selects the tree. Constantly opposed to the Bolshevik's mechanistic doctrine of violently forcing life into an artificial mold is the slow, invisible growth of the forest—the only healthy kind of growth for human society. The ancient myth of the Tree of Life plays a large part in *Doctor Zhivago*, and Pasternak has chosen the beautiful rowan (for which a chapter has been named) to symbolize the legendary Tree. Many tales testify to Slavic, Finno-Ugric, Celtic, and Nordic belief in the magic powers of the rowan and its red berries. It could satisfy hunger, prolong life, heal sickness, and protect from evil spirits. Echoes of rowan-lore are scattered throughout the novel. Dr. Zhivago's escape from the partisans—his close call with the sentry, his farewell visit to the tree—take on warmth and deep meaning in the light of popular belief that a traveler in the dense forest, frightened by ghosts or demons, could run to the rowan tree for sanctuary.²⁰

In addition, both setting and use of the rowan tree in the novel evoke a Central Asian myth. Recalling a Yakut tale of the lonely, heaven-touching Tree of Life atop a high hill, the great rowan in the partisan camp grows, splendid and solitary, on a high mound.

It reached into the sky holding up the flat round shields of its hard crimson berries against the leaden, late-autumn sky. Small birds . . . settled on the rowan tree and picked the largest berries. . . .

There seemed to be a living intimacy between the birds and the tree, as if it had watched them for a long time refusing to do anything, but in the end had had pity on them and given in and fed them like a nurse unbuttoning her blouse to give milk to a baby. "Well, all right, all right," it seemed to be saying with a smile, "eat me, have your fill." (p. 353)

Now in the Yakut fable this is what happened when the first man on earth—sometimes called the Lonely Man—approached the Tree of Life. When he humbly knelt and begged the tree-spirit, his "Honored High Mistress," to bless him in his search for a worthy mate and the society of other people, "the leaves commenced to rustle and a fine milk-white rain dripped from them upon the youth."²¹ The Tree creaked, and from its roots appeared the torso and head of a

²⁰Holmberg, pp. 188-189.

²¹Holmberg, pp. 349-350.

grave-eyed, mature woman with flowing hair—the “milk-breasted goddess.” She gave the Lonely Man milk for his hunger and thirst and her blessing and protection.

This ancient myth, artistically employed, opens our eyes to Zhivago’s puzzling actions in his farewell to the rowan. On his way out of the camp, he approaches the great tree, “half in snow, half in frozen leaves and berries. He remembered Lara’s strong white arms and seized the branches and pulled them to him. As if in answer, the tree shook snow all over him. He muttered without realizing what he was saying, completely beside himself, ‘I’ll find you, my beauty, my love, my rowan tree, my own flesh and blood.’” (p. 375) The rowan tree blends into Lara, and Lara blends into Russia, his motherland, which to him was the “representative of life and existence.” (p. 391)

As the climactic adversary of the wolf-spirit, we discover the spirit of St. George—namesake, patron saint, and inspiration of the hero. The celebrated Christian martyr and fabled dragon-slayer entered Russian folklore via the Eastern Orthodox Church, and under the names Georgy, Yegory, and Yury, took on many new functions. On his feast day, April 23, folk dramas dealing with “Green Yegory” show how the peasants thought of him as presiding over the rebirth of vegetation. Since *George* means “earth-cultivator,” the saint is the natural patron of farmers and their beasts. In the course of protecting cattle and sheep from wolves, a curious duty devolved upon Yury: he also became the patron saint of the wolves! (This seems to be a peculiarly Slavic turn of thought. Like the old *babushka* who prayed for the Devil because there was nobody else to pray for him, the Russian peasant apparently felt that even the abhorred wolf should have somebody for his patron.) Farmers made offerings to the saint and entreated his protection when they turned their animals out to pasture on St. George’s Day. But they did not try to salvage the carcasses of those killed by wolves, feeling that “what the wolf holds in his teeth, that Yegory has given.” In Little Russia, where this saying was a proverb, the wolf was called “St. George’s Dog.”²²

This nickname for the wolf serves to link the doctor-poet with his namesake in folklore. In the final days with Lara at Varykino, Yury writes far into the night. While working on a poem, he is disturbed by a mournful howling. Putting down his pencil and going to the door, he

²²Sources for the folkloristic aspects of St. George are Ralston, *The Songs of the Russian People*, pp. 229-232, and his *Russian Folk Tales* (New York, 1893), pp. 348-350; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, II, pp. 324-348.

sees in the distance

four long shadows, no thicker than pencil strokes, at the edge of the clearing just beyond the gully. The wolves stood in a row, their heads raised and their muzzles pointing at the house, baying at the moon or at its silver reflection on the windows. But scarcely had Yury Andreyevich realized that they were wolves than they turned and trotted off like dogs, almost as if they could read his thoughts. (p. 438)

Clearly, these wolves are to be understood as St. George's dogs, and the four shadows like pencil strokes suggest the four letters in the name Yury (in Cyrillic script, *IO-p-u-ū*). This scene, repeated on successive nights, carries certain Christian implications, one being the opportunity for Lara/Russia to escape ultimate bestiality through the martyr-spirit of St. George. But this, we know, she is afraid to do.

As Yury senses the nearness of their parting, a subtle modulation occurs in the theme.

The wolves he had been remembering all day long were no longer wolves on the snowy plain under the moon, they had become a theme, they had come to symbolize a hostile force bent upon destroying him and Lara and on driving them from Varykino.

The thought of this hostility developed in him and by evening it loomed like a prehistoric beast or some fabulous monster, a dragon whose tracks had been discovered in the ravine and who thirsted for his blood and lusted after Lara. (p. 440)

That night he wrote his poem about St. George and the dragon, which appears in his verses at the end of the book as "Fairy Tale" (pp. 537-540). Scenery of steppe and forest, meadow, mountain, and wild ravine make a very Russian setting for the ancient myth. The desperate battle of knight and horse against the forest monster closely resembles a Russian version of the tale in the folk epic, *Dobrynya and the Dragon*.²³ For the St. George of Zhivago's poem, however,

²³Hapgood, pp. 188-200. The translation is good but the mythological interpretation (Appendix, p. 347) is unconvincing. An enlightening reference to this folk epic appears in Dmitri Čiževsky's article, "Yaroslav the Wise in East-Slavic Epic Poetry," *Journal of American Folklore*, LXIX (July-September, 1956): "There can also be no doubt that the *bylina* about Dobrynya's struggle with the dragon is the symbolic representation of Christianization [of Russia]. Dobrynya is a historical personage, known to us as a participant in the 'baptizing' of Novgorod, while the dragon is the traditional symbol of paganism" (p. 202). Čiževsky points out the relationship of both this *bylina* and the songs about Yegory the Brave to the classical legend of St. George and the Dragon.

there is no clear-cut triumph, as for Dobrynya. True, at battle's end "Steed and dragon carcass / Lie together on the sand." Yet knight and maid lie there also. They are alive, but so spent from loss of blood that after short periods of waking they sink into deathlike sleep again. Furthermore, the impressionistic description of the battle in the eighteenth stanza is repeated at the end:

Tightly closed eyelids.
Towering heights. And clouds.
Waters. Fords. And rivers.
Years. And countless ages.

In this manner the poet depicts the present battle as only the latest in Russia's bloody, centuries-old struggle to trample down the tyrant.

Soon after Yury completes the poem, the terrified Lara flees with Komarovsky. Allegorically speaking, the periodic sacrifice of Russia has once again been made to the dragon of tyranny and corruption—the same old evil but in another guise. And when Yury refuses to seek safety in flight and turns his steps toward Moscow, we recognize who he is and what he is going to do. In the Conclusion and the Epilogue the folk myth of Yegory, patron of sheep and wolves, merges into the religious legend of St. George, defender of the faith and Christian martyr.

It is significant that one of the first acts of the modern tyrant is to burn or falsify his people's books. Then, with dire threats he forbids authors to write of anything—past or present—which exposes his slave society. Pasternak dared to disobey the tyrant. But the editors of *Novy Mir*, to which he submitted his manuscript, lacked his courage. "The thing that alarmed us in your novel," they wrote in a lengthy letter of rejection, "is something that neither the editors nor the author could change by partial deletions or corrections: we are concerned here with the very spirit of the novel, with its pathos and with the author's view of life as that view really is or, in any case, as it is formed in the mind of the reader."²⁴

Undoubtedly, part of the "thing" which so alarmed the Party-lining editors is the image of the past so inextricably woven into *Doctor Zhivago* that it can be neither unraveled nor cut out. Here the past is addressing the Russian people through their cultural memory—their history, legend, myth, and folklore. The past is saying that

²⁴From "‘Doctor Zhivago’: Letter to Boris Pasternak from the editors of *Novyi Mir*," translated in *Dædalus*, LXXXIX (Summer, 1960), pp. 648-649.

this brave new world of Communism is not new at all, but old. It is the ancient world of the Dark Ages all over again, with its beastliness, bloodshed, cruelty, and tyranny. To slay the old dragon, Russia must breed heroes who will fight as did Dobrynya, Ilya of Murom, Yegory the Brave, St. George, and Yury Andreyevich Zhivago.

MacMurray College

THE FLORIDA FOLK FESTIVAL: ACTIVITIES ON THE BANKS OF THE SUWANNEE RIVER THE FIRST WEEK IN MAY

by
Thelma Boltin

IN A TREE shaded corner of Stephen Foster Memorial Park on the banks of the Suwannee River at White Springs, the first week-end in May, the Florida Folk Festival will for the tenth successive year celebrate National Music Week. Thousands of participants young and old will gather to sing folk songs, tell tales, dance to the tune of fiddle, act out singing games and folk ways too numerous to mention. Thousands of spectators from everywhere will gather long before the folk parade, led by Seminoles in full regalia, winds down from back up the road a way. Eager to see the old ways re-enacted folk enthusiasts will come and stay all three days and enjoy the seven programs that comprise Florida Folk Festival. If they get tired of sitting they will be encouraged to get up and go visit with the craftsmen at work in the tents, chew the fat with old timers, see "Mr. Punch" performing in the shade of a tree, watch the Crackers pop their whips; talk to Lottie Shore, the shy Seminole wife and mother, busily cutting and sewing a bright Seminole shirt or skirt; set a spell with Billy Bowlegs, III, Josie Billie and Frank Shore; follow the sounds to Possum Holler, where the folk singers will have gathered to sing, swap songs, and tape their favorites.

The suggestion, in 1952, of Ada Holding Miller, then President of the National Federation of Music Clubs, that Florida have a folk festival "way down upon the Suwannee River," has born fruit. Florida has a real Festival that grows with the years.

Credit for the Florida Folk Festival's sound launching goes to many people chief among whom are Sarah Gertrude Knott, founder of the National Folk Festival; Dr. Alton Morris, author of *Folksongs of Florida* and Editor of *Southern Folklore Quarterly*; Helen Bixler, then Executive Secretary of the Live Oak Chamber of Commerce; Foster L. Barnes, Director, Stephen Foster Memorial Park.

The objectives of Florida Folk Festival were set up in the beginning and still hold true:

To encourage the use of folk songs, music, dances, tales, and other lore to help meet present day recreational needs for both city and country folk;

To preserve and keep flourishing the traditional expressions which reflect life as it has been lived in Florida, in the United States, and in other countries from which our people have come;

To utilize the wealth of inherited cultural legacies which have poured into Florida in such a way as to create better understanding and stronger unity of the people of the State; and

To help develop a more genuine appreciation of the fundamental cultures of our world neighbors by showing—through demonstrations—the universal similarity of the deeply rooted, diverse folk traditions of the peoples of Florida.

The Florida Folk Festival includes the very best from schools, rural areas and communities: the older traditions brought here in early days by the Indian, Spanish, Minorcan, French, Irish, English, Scottish, and Negro. Every effort is made to emphasize survivals of the traditional heritages which have been handed down orally from generation to generation: indigenous folklore of the farmer, turpentiner, hunter, fisherman, lumbering man, cowboy, sailor, railroader, including the customs, singing games, superstitions, children's rhymes, legends, ghost and witch tales and other lore which has sprung up here. Folk traditions of newer arrivals such as the Finns, Bohemians, Germans, Czechs, Swiss, Slav, Scandinavians, Jewish, Greeks, Polish, Italians, Austrian, Hungarian, Chinese, Japanese, Indonesian and others are welcomed. Best examples of folksongs and dances more recently learned, sometimes from books, are presented by those who have not inherited them. Craftsmen are encouraged to demonstrate carving and whittling, spinning, plaiting palmetto pretties, quilting, embroidering, weaving, making slat fish baskets, pottery, and needle-work.

No participants are paid. Those taking part come on their own and contribute generously to the program. So important has taking part become to school groups and individuals they start planning and saving for transportation and the necessary money for lodging and board in or near White Springs a year ahead of the first week-end in May. Some, like the Greek Boy Scouts from Tarpon Springs, arrange to camp and cook out. Participants are encouraged to come and stay all three days, even though few groups appear on more than one or two programs. Two thousand two-hundred individual passes were

issued by name to participants who took part in the ninth annual Florida Folk Festival. Six thousand two-hundred and twenty-three tickets that were good for all day were sold to spectators who crowded the two hundred forty-three acre Park during the Festival week-end.

Only at a gathering like Florida Folk Festival is it possible to shake hands with a Creek Indian artist-singer or a real Seminole medicine man; hear straw beaters; see a genuine water witcher in action; hear sung folksongs long since forgotten by many; take part in a singing gathering; clap time to the dulcet strains of fiddle, guitar, and banjo whamming out music for folk dancing; worship with spiritual singers and brush arbor church goers and hear traditional Greek chants dating back to the Fifth Century. Truly Florida Folk Festival is a colorful cultural jollification.

The memory of the Festival is kept afresh long after the old-fashioned plantation dinner bell used to start and stop the Festival has sounded. Tapes of Indian lore, folksongs, and tales by some of the Festival's favorite folk are distributed to radio stations throughout Florida and Georgia. A thirty-minute film with sound of excerpts of several of the Florida folk festivals is available to schools, colleges, clubs, church and civic organizations without charge.

Cheese and cornbread on the shelf;
If you want anymore, come see for yourself.

White Springs, Florida

THE CARTER FAMILY'S "COAL MINER'S BLUES"

by
Archie Green

ALVIN PLEASANT CARTER died on November 7, 1960, at the age of sixty-eight, at Kingsport, Tennessee, close to his native Scott County in southwestern Virginia. His burial place in the Mt. Vernon Methodist Church cemetery at Maces Springs is but a few miles from his birthplace and life-long home. The local press dispatch from the Scott County seat, Gate City, at the time of his death noted that he had founded the Carter Family singing group, composed several country and western songs, and appeared on Nashville's Grand Ole Opry. Overlooked in his local obituaries was any notice of the Carter Family's tremendous influence on American folk music for three decades and their phonograph records which sold in the millions between 1927 and World War II. These discs perpetuated a particular rhythmic beat in country music, preserved instrumental patterns developed to complement vocal sounds of traditional music previously sung unaccompanied, and introduced their homespun songs and melodious singing and playing style throughout the world.

The Carter Family was well known and loved by its audience—whether live or via radio and records. For many enthusiasts they epitomize excellence in mountain, country, hillbilly, or rural music. They were not unknown to the academic community. When MacEdward Leach and Horace Beck were song-hunting in the Blue Ridge Mountains, they found that Carter Family records were artifacts which helped direct traditional music into new channels. Alan Lomax and John Greenway have voted the Carters' influence on the playing style of Woody Guthrie and Huddie Leadbetter. Charles Seeger transcribed lyrics and tunes of two Carter pieces for inclusion in Ben Botkin's anthologies. Carter Family records were reissued in 1941 by Victor and in 1952 by Folkways, in albums with informative brochure notes by John Lomax and Harry Smith, respectively.¹

¹MacEdward Leach and Horace Beck, "Songs from Rappahannock County, Virginia," *Journal of American Folklore*, LXIII (1950), 258; Alan Lomax brochure notes in *Anglo-American Ballads* (Library of Congress Album 1 [1943] released as AAFL 1 [1956]); John Greenway, *American Folksongs of Protest* (Philadelphia, 1953), p. 285; *Smoky Mountain Ballads* (Victor P 79); *Anthology of American Folk Music* (Folkways FA 2951-2-3); B. A. Botkin, *A Treasury of American Folklore* (New York, 1944), p. 890; B. A. Botkin and Alvin Harlow, *A Treasury of Railroad Folklore* (New York, 1953), p. 463.

It can be said that the Carters, because of their popularity and prestige, made a mark on American folksong scholarship. But, strangely, no published article or monograph undertook a serious study of the Carter Family during A. P. Carter's lifetime. Their musical style and skill, their role as collectors and transmitters of folk music, the provenience of any of their numbers, their influence on the development of commercialized country-western music and the more recent bluegrass music, and their part in the mid-century urban folksong revival is still to be explored and assayed. It may be that, in time, the Carter Family will be accorded the recognition in folklore literature and popular culture studies that it deserves. For the present I offer both a biographical comment on the group² and a partial description of the matrix out of which one of their lesser known songs grew. Neither my biographical note nor my song case study is definitive. Each needs to be expanded into a full length and separate study when additional data come to hand.³

A. P. Carter was born December 15, 1891, on a farm at Maces Springs, Scott County, Virginia, in an area where his family name seemed as old as the land itself. In 1784 his pioneer ancestors had built Carter's Fort, a station on the old Wilderness Road from North Carolina to Kentucky, near present day Rye Cove.⁴ A. P.'s life-long affection for the beauty of his early environment was ingrained; as a child he lived in Poor Valley between Pine Ridge and Clinch Mountain and he could follow the clear water of Blue Springs Branch down to the North Fork of the Holston River. It was here, in a Blue Ridge Mountain pocket, that young Carter absorbed the familiar songs and

²No single adequate biographical account of the Carter Family is available. My bibliography of the Carter Family in print is forthcoming in *Rosin the Bow*, a Chicago amateur folksong journal. Record collectors, Harvey Fink, Watertown, Wisconsin, and Freeman Kitchens, Drake, Kentucky, made available to me their extensive gathering of Carter Family material on my visits to them, May 7, 1961, and August 6, 1961. Luther F. Addington, Janette Carter Jett, Maybelle Carter, and Sara Carter Bayes have all corresponded with me. In August, 1961, I interviewed Mrs. Jett, Mrs. Carter, and Mr. Addington in their homes. Carter Stanley, string band leader from Dickenson County, Virginia, aided with an interview—February 4, 1961, Chicago.

³Three persons who have visited Carter Family members have generously shared impressions with me. Their visits are: Luis Kemnitzer to Sara Carter Bayes, Angels Camp, 6/15/49; Ed Kahn to A. P. Carter, Maces Springs, 8/31/60 and to Sara Carter Bayes, Angels Camp, 6/3/61; Mike Seeger to Janette Carter Jett and Gladys Carter Millard, Maces Springs, 2/22/61.

⁴In a memorial article by Ed Badeux, "The Carters of Rye Cove," *Sing Out*, XI (April, 1961), 12-16, the present family home is incorrectly placed at Rye Cove rather than Maces Springs.

ballads rooted in his culture. A. P.'s first long journey away from home, work and timber cutting, was to Detroit for short-term employment as a rough carpenter.

While visiting relatives on Copper Creek in Scott County, A. P. met an accomplished young singer and instrumentalist, Sara Dougherty. She was born July 21, 1898, at Flat Woods, near Coeburn, Wise County, where her father worked in a forest saw mill. Upon her mother's death little Sara went to live with Aunt Melinda and Uncle Milburn Nickels on Copper Creek. There she took up banjo, autoharp, and guitar and began singing with Uncle Milburn, a fiddler, and her cousins, Madge and Maybelle Addington. Family tradition has it that when A. P. met Sara she was singing the mournful railroad disaster ballad, "Engine One-Forty-Three" ("Wreck on the C and O"). They were married on June 18, 1915, and settled at A. P.'s Maces Springs home.

Some eleven years later the group that emerged as the Carter Family was formed when Sara's cousin, Maybelle Addington, married A. P.'s brother, Ezra J. Carter, and came to live in Poor Valley. Maybelle, the trio's youngest, was born May 10, 1909, on Copper Creek at Nickelsville. While still a child she had begun to play and sing with the many talented family performers in the close-knit community. Upon her marriage on March 23, 1926, she brought her own instruments—guitar, banjo, autoharp—to Maces Springs, and in a short time the new trio, A. P., Sara, and Maybelle, were pleasing friends at church socials and neighborhood entertainments with their spirited singing and playing. Three children, Gladys, Janette, Joe were born to A. P., and Sara, and three, Helen, June, Anita, to E. J. and Maybelle. In time the children were to join their parents as singers and performers.

Late in July 1927, A. P., Sara, and Maybelle journeyed to Bristol, on the Tennessee-Virginia line, where Ralph Peer, Victor's country music scout, had set up his portable recording equipment in an improvised office-building studio to audition local singers. Hillbilly music was still an exciting new find for phonograph record listeners. By one of the fascinating coincidences in recording history, Peer discovered Jimmie Rodgers and the Carters in Bristol on the same midsummer day. Both the Mississippi Singing Brakeman and the Virginia Carter Family were destined to give their hand-me-down songs to world-wide audiences. Much has been written about that first recording session on Monday, August 1, 1927. Here are Sara's words:

So there was an ad come out in the Bristol, Va.-Tenn., paper for all talent to come to Bristol to try out on records. So we three decided to go. We made three records. "Single Girl, Married Girl" tipped it off. The Carter Family and Jimmie Rodgers made a hit out of the talent that went.⁵

Like other successful performers, the Carters followed their records out of the hills and into the wide world—Southern radio stations, Northern recording studios, rural entertainments in between. A long stint between 1938-1941 at the powerful Mexican border station XERA across from Del Rio, Texas, helped spread their Clinch Mountain music into the Midwest.⁶ In 1932 A. P. and Sara were divorced but continued to work together with Maybelle, in part, guided by their mentor, Ralph Peer. Sara married Coy Bayes on February 20, 1939, in Brackettville, Texas, and shortly thereafter moved to his home at Angels Camp, California, in the Sierra Nevada foothills. However, she returned East periodically for radio and recording sessions until 1943 when the trio was disbanded while at station WBT in Charlotte, North Carolina.

A. P. now retired to his old home at Maces Springs; Sara settled in California. Meanwhile Maybelle moved to Richmond, Virginia, where she formed a new unit with her three daughters. On station WRVA's Old Dominion Barn Dance, Mother Maybelle and the Carter Sisters achieved considerable popularity. In 1948 they moved on to radio work at Knoxville, Tennessee, and Springfield, Missouri. Finally they reached Grand Ole Opry, entertaining in the newer idiom of country-western and rockabilly music. The first released record to feature Helen, June, Anita and their mother, "Kneeling Drunkard's Plea/My Darling's Home At Last" (Victor 21-0029), was recorded February 2, 1949, in Atlanta, Georgia. Since 1960 Maybelle has returned to traditional music in appearances with bluegrass artists, Lester Flatt and Earl Scruggs. During 1952 and 1956 Sara returned East to join A. P. for a series of "come back" recordings on the small Acme label. For these sessions Joe and Janette joined their parents to form a quartet issuing material made popular by the early trio. Two LP records of the Acme quartet are available, and, since A. P.'s death, two LPs of original Carter Family classics have been issued.⁷

⁵Sara Carter Bayes letter to John Edwards, December 27, 1955.

⁶The influence of the Mexican border stations in extending traditional American folksong is not documented.

⁷*The Carter Family* (Acme 1); *The Carter Family* (Acme 2); *The Famous Carter Family* (Harmony HL 7280); *The Original and Great Carter Family* (Camden CAL 586).

Before the influence of records and radio what types of songs did the Carters learn from their neighbors in that cluster of the Southern Appalachians where five states—Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, West Virginia—converge in a complex of mountain ridges and twisting valleys? Maces Springs, Virginia, is less than 60 miles from the four bordering states. The terrain limited communication, but songs moved about as to defy geography.

When the Carters began to record, they sang old hymns, new gospel songs, timeless secular ballads, songs of bad men, current journalistic pieces, stories of unrequited love, recomposed sentimentalities of the popular stage, and occupational songs of cowboys, railroaders, and hoboes into the primitive electrical microphones. The initial songs recorded from the Family's treasury were numbers popular among local mountain entertainers and audiences. Their first release was "Wandering Boy/Poor Orphan Child" (Victor 20877). For Victor Records between 1927-1934 they recorded "East Virginia Blues," "Engine One-Forty-Three," "John Hardy Was a Desperate Little Man," "Little Moses," "Wabash Cannon Ball," "Wildwood Flower," and other widely known folksongs. Victor material was also issued on Bluebird, Montgomery Ward, and Sunrise. From 1935-1940 for the American Record Company and other firms they recorded songs that were released on a kaleidoscope of labels: Banner, Columbia, Conqueror, Coral, Decca, Melotone, Montgomery Ward, Okeh, Oriole, Perfect, Romeo, Vocalion. Now their available repertoire on discs was extended to include a considerable number of new songs as well as variants of British traditional ballads, "Black Jack David," and "Sinking in the Lonesome Sea." Before the start of World War II they returned to Victor and on October 14, 1941, the final original Carter Family songs, "Rambling Boy/Waves on the Sea" (Bluebird 33-0512), were recorded in New York City. When the trio achieved initial popularity some of their best-loved records were issued on overseas labels, and, kept in print, they continued to sell for a decade after the Family disbanded.⁸

Many of the songs recorded by the Carter Family were published in song folios and copyrighted by A. P. Carter, beginning in 1929. Copyright laws often counter the normal process of growth and change

⁸The best available Carter Family discography is by Bill Legere in *Country and Western Spotlight*, Issue 34 (June, 1961), 6-14. One prepared by the late John Edwards is to be released by Eugene Earle in a memorial volume of Edwards' bio-discographical studies.

in folk music by making static that which is inherently fluid. In a sense, every time A. P. Carter recorded a song or published it in a folio, he "collected" a variant as does any folklorist in the field with his notebook, acetate disc, or tape. Carter, of course, made no pretense to scholarship and hence, claimed most songs as his own.

Two songs recorded by the Carters as their own pieces were, in fact, important documents of American coal mining minstrelsy. In the summer of 1938 the Family visited the modern Decca studio in New York City. There, far removed from the grime of the mines, they sang and played into the microphone "The Reckless Motorman," a moving and authentic ballad of a coal mine accident in McDowell County, West Virginia, and "Coal Miner's Blues," a seemingly cheerful and catchy rhythmic piece but actually an accurate social reminder of primitive bituminous mining days in the mountain South.

At first thought one associates the blues with Negro life or with jazz, not with mountain or hillbilly music. Abbe Niles, an early student of the blues, wrote in 1925, "The blues sprang up, probably within the last quarter-century, among illiterate and more or less despised classes of Southern Negroes: barroom pianists, careless nomadic laborers, watchers of incoming trains and steamboats, street corner guitar players, strumpets and outcasts."⁹

How did this musical form, only given its formal published title, "The Blues," about 1910 and first issued on commercial race records by Negro artists in 1920, penetrate the Southern Highlands and sink into the consciousness of white singers grown up with traditional musical patterns of their own, centuries old? From the beginning of hillbilly recording in 1923, white singers included some blues in their repertoires. Were these blues carried into the hills by early Negro railroad laborers and riverboats roustabouts and given to white mountain singers directly before any blues were published in sheet music or on disc? Or did hillbilly blues blossom only in the 1920's when race records disseminated this form widely and inexpensively? When and where did Negro and white folk musicians first begin to play together across the color line in local entertainments, medicine shows, carnivals, rural taverns? This puzzling story of the musical borrowing and interaction of race and hillbilly singers has yet to be documented. The Carter Family's "Coal Miner's Blues" offers but a footnote in this complex development.¹⁰

⁹William C. Handy, *Blues: An Anthology* (New York, 1926), p. 9.

¹⁰The first direct evidence of Carter Family borrowing Negro material which I have found is the account by Brownie McGhee, blues singer and guitarist, of

Many early blues were songs of private emotion or love; some were plaintive or bitter occupational songs. George Korson published more than a hundred songs of bituminous coal miners in *Coal Dust on the Fiddle* (Philadelphia, 1943) and included a dozen blues from white and Negro singers. A sampling of titles from his book tells something of the rapid extension of the blues form to the domain of coal folk-song: "Company Store Blues," "Coal Diggin' Blues," "Drill Man Blues," "Coal Loadlin' Blues," "Hignite Blues," "Harlan County Blues," and "John L. Lewis Blues." The Carter Family's "Coal Miner's Blues" has not yet been printed in hard cover book form and only recently was published in any available song folio.

The record itself—a vocal duet with two guitar accompaniment, lead voice by Sara and lead guitar by Maybelle—was made June 8, 1938, in New York City (Master 64104) and released on a 10" 78 RPM record as Decca 5596. It was issued for mail order sale on Montgomery Ward 8072 and separately in Canada as Melotone 45280. After World War II, Decca reissued the song as 46086, and in 1956 it appeared in Great Britain on a 45 RPM EP disc as Brunswick OE 9168. All copies were pressed from the same master.¹¹ To my knowledge, there is only one other recording of "Coal Miner's Blues," made by Ed Romaniuk and his sister, Elsie Pysar, two Canadian Carter fans, and children of coal miners.¹² It is a 45 RPM EP disc issued in the summer of 1960 on Acme 104, a Greenville, Tennessee, label.

In spite of the song's popularity on wax, the Carters never included it in any of their published folios. But in 1956, a gifted young country singer and guitarist from Maryland, Bill Clifton, published a folio, *150 Old Time Folk and Gospel Songs* (North Wilkesboro, N. C., Adams Printing Co.), based in part on early songsters and in part on his own collection from the singing and playing of rural entertainers. He printed the words to "Coal Miner's Blues" on page 34 of his booklet without credit to A. P. Carter, although the folio as a whole is generous in acknowledgment of debt to the Family. The transcribed music for "Coal Miner's Blues" can be found not with the words but on page 59 where Clifton used it for a composition of his own, "Parris

A. P.'s visits to McGhee in Kingsport, Tennessee, between 1932-1939 in search of songs. Interview—April 26, 1961, Urbana, Illinois.

¹¹Discographical data from John Edwards' letter to me, September 9, 1956.

¹²Ed Romaniuk was drawn to "Coal Miner's Blues" because of his own "Coal Branch" childhood in Foothills, Alberta, on the eastern flank of the Canadian Rockies. His father and four brothers were all miners and sister Elsie married a miner. Letter to me, May 11, 1961.

Island Blues." His musical borrowing illustrates the folk song process, and the lyric comments on the state of U. S. Marine Corps life in 1951.

The words of the Carter song from Decca record 5596 are:

Some blues are just blues, mine are the miner's blues.
Some blues are just blues, mine are the miner's blues.
My troubles are coming by threes and by twos.

Blues and more blues, it's that coal black blues.
Blues and more blues, it's that coal black blues.
Got coal in my hair, got coal in my shoes.

These blues are so blue, they are the coal black blues.
These blues are so blue, they are the coal black blues.
For my place will cave in, and my life I will lose.

You say they are blues, these old miner's blues.
You say they are blues, these old miner's blues.
Now I must have sharpened these picks that I use.

I'm out with these blues, dirty coal black blues.
I'm out with these blues, dirty coal black blues.
We'll lay off tomorrow with the coal miner's blues.

Ballads are folksongs that tell definite stories—often complex and detailed. Blues are subtle songs that hint at moods. Blues begin as one-man affairs, personal expressions, fragments of feeling. We can retell a ballad's story in our own words or discover its genesis in history books or journalistic accounts. It is difficult to retell or add to the story of a particular blues.

"Coal Miner's Blues" tells us that the song originated in the pre-mechanization days of pick and shovel mining. There is a hint at anticipation of layoff and a clear expression of fear of cave-in. But behind these observed facts there is a poignant expression in the poetry of the lyrics that miner's blues are by definition more basic, more severe, than other blues. One singer has projected his personal lament into a general song meaningful to all diggers who have toiled underground and to others who share their condition.

Who made up "Coal Miner's Blues"? From whom was it collected by the Carter Family? Bill Clifton, at my suggestion, queried A. P. Carter in the spring of 1957 and reported, "He learned it from several miners in Wise County, Virginia, some years back. Naturally he does not recall the names of the men who taught it to him, but it existed as a true mining song, and I imagine that it served a useful purpose around the local Wise County coal mines."¹³

¹³Bill Clifton letter to me, April 24, 1957.

To establish the origin of any Carter Family song is a complex matter. Because traditional tunes and texts were altered to suit the Family's characteristic rhythmic style, A. P. would respond to queries on sources that he or they "worked up" the songs. He did not distinguish between direct borrowing, re-composition, and original creation. To collector Ed Kahn he indicated that he worked up "Coal Miner's Blues."¹⁴ Sara in 1958 recalled that they came across it in a "piece of poetry."¹⁵ Maybelle's memory of this song is sharpest for she remembers a drive from Maces Springs through Pennington Gap to nearby St. Charles, Lee County, Virginia, in the spring of 1938 where A. P. got the words from an old man.¹⁶ Lee County is adjacent to Wise County and lies directly south of the rich coal fields of Harlan County, Kentucky. Before the Decca recording session Maybelle and Sara set the words to their own tune, one also used for "Bear Creek Blues." The memories of A. P., Sara, and Maybelle, when joined, round out the story of how their "Blues" was collected. A. P. erred in moving St. Charles a few miles across the line into Wise County. Sara's reference to "poetry" means that the song was found without music, and either that it was specifically written down for them or was previously printed. There is no clear evidence that it was in print on a slip, in a newspaper, folio or booklet prior to their Lee County visit. Its finding in such form would add to the Carter story as well as to mining lore.

A. P.'s collecting techniques were unscholarly for he failed to note names, places, or dates, but the body of American folksong is richer from his effort, for he has helped us share some of the experience of his unnamed miner friends in southwestern Virginia. Their songs mirror their time and place. Can we look into the glass and re-create something of the life of the unknown pick and shovel miners who gave their blues to Carter some years ago?

We lack a clue as to whether the song was of Negro or white origin. But we do know that Negro miners came early to this area—the richest coal county in Virginia. Thomas Jefferson wrote about Wise County coal, and coal was mined for local use from Revolutionary through Civil War days. After 1880 it became an important center for coke production and attracted European immigrants, some

¹⁴Ed Kahn letter to me, February 27, 1961.

¹⁵Griffith Borgeson tape interview with Sara Carter Bayes, Angels Camp, California, April 1, 1958. To Ed Kahn, June 3, 1961, Sara stated, ". . . we composed that one just from some literature we got, just some little poetry. . . ."

¹⁶Mrs. Louise Scruggs queried Maybelle Carter and reported the singer's recollections in a letter to me, May 17, 1961!

directly from overseas and some from northern coal fields, as well as Negro workers from southern agriculture. "The population of Wise County in 1920 was 46,500, consisting mainly of whites, but including several settlements of Negroes in the mining districts."¹⁷

Unlike some of the Family's classic pieces, "Coal Miner's Blues" does not evidence long life in oral tradition or variation. It seems completely local to southwestern Virginia, and the extent of A. P.'s alteration for recording purposes is unknown. By definition it is neither folksong, broadside, nor popular song. It can only be labeled a commercial hillbilly blues of folk origin. But unlike many blues, it is much more than a personal statement of feeling. It is a graphic and poignant statement of five or six decades of Wise and Lee County work lore compressed into a single rhythmic song.

Fortunately we have evidence for this assertion from the late James Taylor Adams (1892-1954), a miner-writer from Big Laurel, Virginia.¹⁸ Adams worked in Wise County from 1905 to 1930, when he left the mines to collect sketches, short stories, poems, and songs descriptive of the Southern Highlands. He edited his own quarterly magazine, *The Cumberland Empire*, from 1930 through 1934 to perpetuate this lore. In 1941 he printed his own little book, *Death in the Dark: A Collection of Factual Ballads of American Mine Disaster, with Historical Notes* (Big Laurel, Va., Adams-Mullins Press). In addition to songs collected from his fellow miners, he poured something of the meaning of his life's work into the book's introduction. His stark, honest story was intimately known to and felt by all of his companions. Coal miners, no more than other workers, were given to petty complaint, but work conditions beyond endurance and beyond dignity generate emotions which, in turn, are expressed in oratory and organization, poetry and song.

Let Miner Adams speak for A. P. Carter's friends, the unknown folk composers and transmitters of "Coal Miner's Blues":

I was born in Letcher County, Kentucky, when the first entries were being driven into the coal seams here in Wise County, Virginia, just twenty-five miles to the south. When I was thirteen I crossed Pine Mountain, with my fifteen year old cousin,

¹⁷James Brian Eby, *The Geology and Coal Resources of the Coal-Bearing Portions of Wise and Scott Counties, Virginia* (Baltimore, 1922), p. 3.

¹⁸I am indebted to L. F. Addington, Principal, Kelly High School, Wise, Virginia, for correspondence, photographs, and clippings on J. T. Adams. An excellent biography is Frederick D. Vanover, *James Taylor Adams* (Louisville: Dixiana Press, 1937), 16 pages.

John Sherman Adams, to find a job. . . . We joined the industry as coke loaders for the Stonegap Colliery Company at Glamorgan. This was in the fall of 1905. . . .

In those days conditions in the Virginia coalfields were awful. Cooperation among the mine owners had never been thought of. A miner's union was something beyond heaven. It was not even hoped for. Coal was gotten from under the sagging mountains by haphazard methods, at mighty risk to life and limb, crushed into dust by makeshift machinery, and dumped into ovens from which it emerged forty-eight hours later as coke. There was but a limited demand for this product and the result was that the producers resorted to cheap methods to find a market. Prices were cut to such a level that either the corporations must go broke or the workers must go hungry. The workers went hungry.

There was no attempt at standardization. Wages were, apparently, whatever the companies wanted to pay. Coal leaders made about two dollars a day. . . . There was a sort of loose understanding for a ten hour shift, but it was so loose that men sometimes worked thirty six hours without a stop save for food. I have worked twenty four hours without stopping, and on one occasion I did not have my shoes off my feet from Monday morning till Saturday night. . . .

"Get the coal!" was the cry from the man with the big cigar in the head office right down to the man with the pick and shovel at the face of the coal. "Get the coal!" the manager told the superintendent; "get the coal!" the "super" told the mine foreman; and "get the coal!" the foreman told the coal loader, "or get the hell out of here!" And this order was carried out regardless of the cost in toil, danger and death.

Foremen were hardboiled. They did not necessarily have to know much about coal mining, but they had to know how to handle men. And when I say "handle men" I mean just that. They were men with an iron nerve, capable of instilling fear into "white folks," "hunks" or "niggers" with a look or a pick handle. In 1925, I heard an old mine superintendent boasting of how he used to knock a pick off the handle and beat his men over the head with it. . . .

If there was any system at all in the coal industry it was the efforts of the men in charge to work up hard feelings between the Negroes, foreigners and native white Americans. Particularly did they play upon the feelings of the mountaineer who had sold his land with half a million dollars worth of coal under it for seventy five or a hundred dollars, and then, when the money

was spent, was forced to go to work in the mines digging the coal he once owned, to keep himself and family from starving.¹⁹

Did a mountaineer who sold his land before becoming a coal digger compose "Coal Miner's Blues" out of the fullness of his heart? Or did a Negro miner beaten with a pick handle first put these troubled lines together? Who taught it to whom? When? How many miners knew it in memory and found solace in the song? These questions may prove to be purely rhetorical unless folklore students delve into Carter Family history and songlore while it still can be gathered first hand. The challenge posed by the Carters is great, but in spite of our lack of detailed knowledge and regardless of the origin of "Coal Miner's Blues," this much we know; it comes to us via the skills of A. P. Carter and the voices and instruments of Sara and Maybelle. To all of us it now belongs—a bit of mining tradition spread far beyond the pits and coke ovens of southwestern Virginia.

University of Illinois

¹⁹*Death in the Dark*, pp. 4-10.

WILLIAM ORRIE TUGGLE AND THE CREEK INDIAN FOLK TALES

by

Dorothy Blackmon Hatfield and Eugene Current-Garcia

"I love such investigations, because they may lead, someday, to a better knowledge of the first peopling of this continent. . . Will not our children, when they grow up, wonder at our stupid unconcern for antiquity?"¹

THE AUTHOR OF these words, William O. Tuggle, may have done more than any other Southeasterner of his time to preserve for future use the records of antiquity in his region; yet, ironically, Tuggle's name is virtually unknown today, except among a few specialists in the fields of anthropology and folklore,² while the value of his remarkable collection of Creek Indian folk tales and other data, once used and admired by such contemporaries as Joel Chandler Harris, John R. Swanton, James Mooney, and others, has long since been forgotten.³ That such an important figure as Tuggle should have remained so long neglected is one of the minor mysteries in Southeastern literary history, explainable in part by reason of the disappearance of his original manuscript collection. That he deserves recognition and further study—now that the bulk of his work has come to light—it is the purpose of this paper to establish, since it is apparent to us that Tuggle's original manuscript collection is one of the most significant sources of Indian lore available to students of primitive culture in the Southeast. Who Tuggle was, what he achieved as a pioneering folk-

¹W. O. Tuggle, "Scrap Album," Atlanta, Georgia; Private collection in the possession of Mrs. Sara Tuggle Douglass, last surviving daughter of W. O. Tuggle. Rights of use granted to Dorothy B. Hatfield, April 28, 1960.

²No mention of Tuggle appears in the usual biographical compendia such as *D. A. B., Heitman Historical Register and Dictionary of United States Army*, *National Cyclopedias of American Biography*, or Gatschet, *Migration Legend* (BAE MSS 566, Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D. C.).

³Reference to use of Tuggle's MSS by Harris, Mooney, and Swanton is given below (*infra*, pp. 8-11, 15-17 *passim*). Among the others were Jeremiah Curtin, J. N. B. Hewitt, and James C. Pilling, each of whom issued subsequent publications, and all of whom were actively associated with the Bureau of American Ethnology under the administration of John W. Powell, first director of the Bureau. For further details, see Dorothy B. Hatfield, *The W. O. Tuggle Manuscript of Creek Indian Folk Tales—Its History and Significance*, (unpublished Master's thesis, Auburn University, 1960) page 4, note 3.

lorist, and why his work is a rich body of original source materials will be set forth in the following pages.

According to the Tuggle family Bible,⁴ William Orrie Tuggle was born in Henry County near McDonough, Georgia, on September 25, 1841. Orphaned in childhood, he was reared by foster parents and educated at Brownwood Institute and Mercer University, where he interrupted his studies to enlist in the La Grange Light Guard upon the outbreak of the Civil War.⁵ Later serving with Morgan's Raiders, Tuggle was twice captured by the enemy and twice successfully escaped imprisonment in the North under hazardous circumstances which he later described vividly in an account entitled "Recollection of an Escape from a Northern Prison Camp by an Unreconstructed Rebel."⁶ After his war service Tuggle completed his law studies and was admitted to the bar in 1865;⁷ he married Miss Antoinette Cox, established his permanent residence at La Grange, Georgia, and became in time the father of eight children,⁸ one of whom still survives.

As a lawyer Tuggle quickly gained success and political prominence during the Reconstruction period. He was chosen to represent Troup County in the Constitutional Convention of 1877;⁹ and two years later, having meanwhile published an important work on taxation which drew favorable notice from John Sherman, United States Secretary of the Treasury,¹⁰ he was appointed legal agent to represent the Creek Nation in negotiating a sizable claim against the Federal Government. Tuggle's successful defense of this claim for \$72,000 was hailed as "a brilliant achievement [which] erased from the Treasury an enormous tax debt that hung over nearly every Southern State . . .

⁴At present in the possession of Sara Tuggle Douglass: Atlanta, Georgia.

⁵Newspaper clipping (n. d.) owned by Mrs. Steffan Thomas, granddaughter of W. O. Tuggle: Stone Mountain, Georgia. Permission to quote granted Dorothy B. Hatfield, who examined the Thomas' collection on June 9, 1960.

⁶Handwritten copies of the first three chapters of this manuscript are in the private collection owned by Sara Tuggle Douglass.

⁷Tuttle's license to practice law in the State of Georgia is dated November 22, 1865. It is in the collection owned by Mrs. Steffan Thomas.

⁸Margaret Antoinette Cox was the first child of Albert Ewing Cox and Juliet Warren Alford (Tuttle Family Bible, *op. cit.*). Names of Tuttle's deceased children are listed in Hatfield, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13, together with some vivid personal recollections of her childhood and family life given to the writer by the surviving child, Mrs. Sara Tuggle Douglass, in an interview on April 28, 1960.

⁹Newspaper clipping in Mrs. Steffan Thomas's Collection, *op. cit.*

¹⁰W. O. Tuttle, *Direct Taxes and Compilation*, 46th Congress, 1st Session, Senate Executive Document, No. 24, May 14, 1879. Favorable commentary on the value of this work, signed by both John Sherman and A. H. Stephens, is quoted in Hatfield, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-16.

[and] demonstrated the wisdom of the governor in securing his services. Not only Georgia, but the whole South, owes him a deed of gratitude. He has accomplished what our combined representatives in Congress failed to effect."¹¹

Tuggle's role as agent for the Muscogees thus brought him into close contact not only with state and federal authorities, but also with the chiefs of the Creek Nation. Following his appointment in October, 1879, he spent most of the next three years in the Indian Territory, where he earned the respect and confidence of such prominent Indian leaders as Samuel W. Brown, Sr., Chief of the Uchees [Yuchis] and Pleasant Porter, chief Indian delegate to Washington, as well as the encouragement and co-operation given him by educational and religious personnel in the Territory, such as G. W. Grayson and Mr. and Mrs. W. W. Robertson.¹² Tuggle's successful prosecution of the Creek claim, however, was but one facet of his activity on behalf of the Indians. For during his stay in the Territory he kept a detailed journal and diary, wrote articles for the Georgia newspapers and for the *Christian Index*, and collected an extensive number of Indian fables and tales, baby songs and medicine songs, as well as a series of observations on tribal customs, which he recorded with meticulous care for detail.¹³ It is not surprising, therefore, that Tuggle was later characterized as "an unusually rapid worker, both with his mind and his pen."¹⁴

¹¹Tuttle "Scrap Album," *loc. cit.* "In Oct. 1879 the Muscogee nation passed an act making me their agt. & also agt. of The Creek Orphan claim under the treaty of 1832." (*Tuttle Diary, loc. cit.*). As such agent Tuttle was duly commissioned by Ward Coachman, principal chief.

¹²Samuel W. Brown, Sr., Chief of the Yuchi town and district judge, was born June, 1843. He served in the House of Warriors and the House of Kings; in 1882, he became Treasurer of the Nation. Pleasant Porter, the most distinguished member of the Creek tribe, was born September 26, 1840, about twelve miles from the present site of Clarksville. George Washington Grayson was born in 1843 near Eufala, Oklahoma, the son of James Grayson and Jennie Wynn, a half breed Creek Indian. The Robertsons were characterized by Tuttle as "the leading spirits of Broken Arrow Camp Ground." For fuller details on the significance of these individuals and their relationships with Tuttle, see Charles Evans (ed.) *The Chronicles of Oklahoma: Guthrie, Oklahoma. The Oklahoma Historical Society*. Autumn, 1948, Vol. XXVI, No. 3, pp. 349-353 and 287-299, *passim*. See also Hatfield, *op. cit.*, pp. 17, 18, and 26, notes 28, 29, 31, and 46.

¹³"Baby Songs" and "Medicine Songs" by W. O. Tuttle are given first in the Creek language and then translated into English. (W. O. Tuttle collection owned by Mrs. Elizabeth Williamson Bethea. See Hatfield, *op. cit.*, pp. 18 and 35 for excerpt.

¹⁴Tuttle "Scrap Album," *loc. cit.*

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After leaving the Territory in December, 1881, Tuggle returned to Washington, carrying on there simultaneously his governmental duties and his efforts to organize and publish his cultural findings among the Creek Indians. An entry in his diary, dated December 13, 1881, for example, reveals the following information:

Got copy Creek Orphans bill and gave to Mr. Deering to introduce in house—

Same in Ga. bill for Buchanan

Creek Orphan bill was refd by Senate Comtee Indian Affairs to sec.—

Wrote Sketches of my Indian experiences & finds, also arranged life and adventures of Black Beaver & sent the manuscript to Harper Bros New York,

It would make about 350 pages of printed matter

The Harpers have not yet decided about publishing the sketches & seem rather inclined to decline.¹⁵

Diary entries at this time show further that Tuggle was keeping up his contacts with his Indian friends, Pleasant Porter and Ward Coachman, who came as delegates to Washington from the Creek Nation and who, during off-hour visits to his hotel, were supplying Tuggle with additional data on Indian idioms and legends.¹⁶ While in Washington he tried repeatedly to interest commercial publishers in his Indian writings, complaining on one occasion that he feared his "baby" might "die aborting!" and noting on another that he had been advised to submit his sketches to Major Powell of the Smithsonian.¹⁷

With more than passing interest Powell did examine the manuscript, for he made specific suggestions as to the rearrangement of Tuggle's collection, advising him to group together first the Indian tales, next the sketches, and finally the Black Beaver story.¹⁸ Tuggle recorded this as sound advice which he planned to follow, but ill health and the pressure of other affairs rendered these plans abortive, as no further references to his Indian writings appear in his diary. In 1883 Tuggle was reappointed to another two-year term as lawyer for the Creek Nation, but on July 9 of that year he wrote Powell that he was too ill to return to Washington to pursue all his interests. The following March, hoping to restore his health in a more salubrious climate, he

¹⁵W. O. Tuggle Diary: Bethea Collection, *loc cit.*

¹⁶*Ibid.*, December 9, 1881.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, December 12, 1881.

¹⁸The Black Beaver Story was the biography of Chief Black Beaver of the Delawares. See *infra*, p. 23.

moved instead to Thomasville, Georgia, where he died at the age of forty-four on February 3, 1885.

Besides a record of vigorous participation in many public affairs, Tuggle left behind as his richest legacy an invaluable collection of Creek Indian myths and folk tales, gathered at first hand and representing the traditional stories that had been handed down by word of mouth in the tribes for centuries. Included among this varied source material are not only the important animal myths, the creation myth, and the tribal baby songs and medicine songs sacred to the tribes, but also Tuggle's carefully detailed observations of tribal customs, with specific notations of the time and place where they were gathered. The importance of his collection was immediately recognized, among others by Joel Chandler Harris, who predicted in 1883 that "Mr. Tuggle's Collection of Creek legends will probably be published under the auspices of the Smithsonian Institution, and it will serve a noteworthy contribution to the literature of American folk-lore."¹⁹

Had he lived, it seems likely that Tuggle himself would eventually have seen his collection through the press; but, too ill to undertake the task, he apparently delegated the publishing responsibility to J. W. Powell, first director of the Bureau of Ethnology of the Smithsonian, whom he instructed on February 28, 1883, to "do whatever you deem best with the creek myth and I'll be content."²⁰ Instead of publishing the collection, however, Powell returned it, presumably for further editing, and nothing further was done about the manuscript until after Tuggle's death, although Powell later indicated that even in its unfinished state the collection showed that Tuggle "possessed both the interest and the ability to produce a work which would have proved a credit to himself and a lasting contribution to anthropology."²¹ At the suggestion of Tuggle's old friend, G. W. Grayson,²² Mrs. Tuggle again tried to interest Powell in publishing her late husband's

¹⁹"Introduction," *Nights with Uncle Remus* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1883), p. xxx.

²⁰B. A. E. MSS 566, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C. Later on Tuggle said: "I do not see how I can work any more on the Creek myths, thence you can feel free to publish them in their present form." *Ibid.*

²¹B. A. E. MSS 566.

²²Grayson, a veteran of the Second Creek Volunteers, served as treasurer of the Nation, secretary of the International Council of the tribes, member of the House of Warriors, and delegate many times to Washington. (See *supra*, note 12; also Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Jeremiah Curtin in the Indian Territory," *The Oklahoma, Chronicles of Oklahoma*, co-operative Publishing Company, Guthrie, Oklahoma, Autumn, 1948, Vol. XXVI, p. 341.) Tuggle's entries indicate that he and Grayson were close friends.

collection and was instructed by him to forward the manuscript once more to the Smithsonian.²³ She did so on April 17, 1886.²⁴ Nine months later Mrs. Tuggle inquired, somewhat impatiently, concerning the disposition of the manuscript; and a month after that she was informed by Powell that "in its present form [it] was too fragmentary to publish."²⁵ Five days later (February 17, 1887) Mrs. Tuggle requested the immediate return of the manuscript, whereupon the Smithsonian assigned H. W. Henshaw to re-examine it. Precisely what happened to the collection during the next two weeks would be interesting to know, as a memorandum from Henshaw to Powell indicates that "a copy [had] been made of such portions . . . as were deemed desirable to retain;"²⁶ while a second admonitory memorandum, in another handwriting, reminds Powell: "Don't mention copy."²⁷ Smithsonian records show that the original manuscript collection was returned to Mrs. Tuggle on March 3, 1887. And at that point in its history it dropped out of sight, becoming for all scholarly purposes an unsolved mystery until its re-discovery in April, 1960, by Dorothy Hatfield, co-author of the present study.

After 1887 various conjectures were made regarding the whereabouts of the original Tuggle collection, along with sporadic efforts to locate it. In 1900, J. R. Mooney, who had examined twelve years before what he apparently thought to be the original collection,²⁸ and who quoted parts of a few of Tuggle's Creek stories²⁹ for comparative purposes in his own Cherokee Indian Collection,³⁰ suggested that the Tuggle collection was located in the Wisconsin Historical Society.³¹ Some years later, J. R. Swanton, also mistakenly assuming that he had consulted the original Tuggle materials in gathering the fifty-four

²³B. A. E. MSS 566, *op. cit.*

²⁴*Ibid.*

²⁵*Ibid.*, February 12, 1887.

²⁶*Ibid.*, March 3, 1887.

²⁷This note was in the handwriting of James C. Pilling, Chief Clerk of B. A. E. (*Ibid.*, N. d.).

²⁸Mooney is known to have examined the Smithsonian copies of the Tuggle material on July 2, 1888 (see B. A. E. MSS 566). Since the original Tuggle manuscript had been returned to Mrs. Tuggle more than a year earlier, it seems probable that Mooney did not see it, but worked from copies instead. For further details supporting this view, see Hatfield, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-36.

²⁹The stories quoted were: Article 19, pt. 2, pp. 430, 432, 435, 436, 447, 448, 449, 450, 452, 455, 473, 476, and 504 (B.A.E. 566 *op. cit.*).

³⁰James R. Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," 19 Annual Report to the Bureau of American Ethnology, ed. J. W. Powell.

³¹B. A. E. MSS 566.

stories from the Tuggle collection which he reprinted in his *Myths and Tales of the Southeastern Indians*, stated that "the original (Creek myths) . . . are preserved among the documents in the Bureau of American Ethnology."³² The assumptions of both men were later proved to be obviously incorrect. Mooney's error was finally exposed in 1932 when the Smithsonian, having sent an inquiry to the Wisconsin Historical Society, learned that the manuscript was not and never had been there.³³ The same year, Swanton's mistaken belief that he had been working from Tuggle's original manuscript while gathering materials for his own book during the years 1908 to 1914 was disproved in a letter from the Bureau, regretfully acknowledging that the Tuggle manuscript housed in its archives was only a copy and that the office had "no way of knowing whether it has a copy of the entire manuscript or not."³⁴

Repeated efforts to find the original manuscript in the 1930's having failed, the mystery surrounding its location created little further scholarly interest, and Tuggle's significance gradually disappeared from view. In 1956, however, a study undertaken by William Sturtevant, who collated Swanton's published collection of Indian myths with the two manuscript copies housed in the Smithsonian,³⁵ apparently stimulated renewed efforts from the Bureau of Ethnology to locate the original Tuggle manuscript. For on January 10, 1957, a letter from the Bureau addressed to Muriel Wright, Editor of the *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, indicated that the Bureau was "currently trying to locate the manuscript of the myths" and would appreciate "any information on Tuggle and . . . the identity of his informants."³⁶ To this inquiry Miss Wright replied:

³²John R. Swanton, *Myths and Tales of the Southeastern Indian* (Washington, D.C., United States Printing Office, 1929), B. A. E. Bulletin 88, Introd., p. 1.

³³B. A. E. MSS 566 (letter from Margaret C. Blaker).

³⁴*Ibid.* (letter from J. W. B. Hewett to Dr. M. W. Stirling, August 5, 1932. Text of the complete letter is quoted in Hatfield, *op. cit.*, p. 39).

³⁵Study Comparison of 566A and 566B, B. A. E. MCC 566. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C., 1956. In attempting to determine which of the two copies of Tuggle manuscript Swanton had used, Mr. Sturtevant made a careful comparison of Swanton's stories with both of the Smithsonian copies. He noted several discrepancies between the two copies, gave the complete list of Tuggle stories copied, and concluded: "Almost the entire contents of this [B. A. E. 566A copy] have been published by J. R. Swanton. The tales are sometimes given slightly different titles by him, and there are occasional minor verbal changes; but it is evident that J. R. S. used this manuscript [566A] rather than 566B." *Ibid.*

³⁶B. A. E. MSS 566 (letter from Margaret C. Blaker, Archives Assistant of the Bureau of American Ethnology, to Muriel H. Wright).

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We have no record of such manuscript in the collection of The Oklahoma Historical Society. However, we do have original letters . . . relating to the appointment of W. O. Tuggle as attorney for the Creek Nation . . . A letter (#36 439) in the Archives . . . shows that W. O. Tuggle was attorney for the Home Mission Board, Southern Baptist Convention (1883). An original letter (#29917) written by Tuggle on March 12, 1884, has printed letterhead: 'W. O. Tuggle, Attorney-at-Law—LaGrange, Georgia.' In our brief and hurried search for reply to your request, we find no mention of W. O. Tuggle in the back files of old newspapers . . . we shall be glad if any of the above give a clue in your research."³⁷

As late as 1957, therefore, search for the original Tuggle materials, as well as for a glimmer of information about him, remained at a stand-still.

Two years later, the key leading to solution of the Tuggle mystery finally appeared, when a study by Celia B. Taylor, completed at Auburn University and entitled *Cherokee and Creek Folklore Elements in the Uncle Remus Stories*,³⁸ re-emphasized not only the importance of Tuggle's contribution to Joel Chandler Harris's tales,³⁹ but primarily the values inherent in Tuggle's original collection, if it could be found. Although Mrs. Taylor's interest had centered chiefly on the work of Mooney and Swanton, rather than Tuggle, she called specific attention to the fact that Harris had used and commented favorably upon Tuggle's manuscript. Accordingly, her observation that the "Indian storytellers and the collectors, such as Mooney and Tuggle, offer rich biographical raw material hitherto neglected,"⁴⁰ provided the incentive to undertake a renewed, intensified search for the Tuggle materials. After a diligent survey of all the background data noted above, this quest was rewarded beyond all expectations

³⁷Letter to Margaret C. Blaker from Muriel H. Wright, dated January 30, 1957. Copy of this letter sent by Miss Wright to Dorothy B. Hatfield, March 4, 1960.

³⁸Unpublished Master's thesis, Auburn University, Auburn, Alabama, 1959.

³⁹"There is no question that Harris was familiar with the Creek stories and aware of their similarities to his. Mrs. Tuggle stated in one letter that 'Mr. Joel Chandler Harris . . . borrowed the manuscript from [her] husband to read.' In his Introduction to *Nights with Uncle Remus*, Harris outlined six Creek stories [*In Songs and Sayings*, Nos. 2, 4, 6, 7, 8; and in *Nights*, Nos. 35, 48, 58] collected by 'Mr. Tuggle of Georgia, who has recently made an exhaustive study of the folklore of the Creek Indians' . . . Linear comparisons of the stories in question reveals that Harris's stories follow, almost to the letter, his outlines of Tuggle's stories." *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, p. 80.

when, in April and May, 1960, the entire Tuggle collection was discovered in the possession of three different members of the Tuggle family.⁴¹

In their present state the original Tuggle materials are thus assembled in three separate collections, owned respectively by Mrs. Sara Tuggle Douglass, daughter of W. O. Tuggle; Mrs. Steffan Thomas, daughter of Mrs. Douglas; and Mrs. Elizabeth W. Bethea, first cousin of Mrs. Thomas.⁴² Of the three, Mrs. Bethea's collection is by far the most impressive, as it contains in addition to the original manuscript copied by the Smithsonian in 1887 numerous other manuscript items of comparable value, of which no copies heretofore existed. A bare listing of the items in the first two collections must suffice here, so that sufficient space can be given to a more detailed descriptive analysis of the third. The Douglas collection contains the following items:

1. The W. O. Tuggle family Bible. In it are recorded the names of W. O. Tuggle's parents, date of his birth and marriage, and the names and birth dates of eight children, plus the death dates of seven of them.
2. A Scrap Album (7 1/2" by 5 3/4") dated 1879 and containing many newspaper clippings relative to Tuggle's varied activities. Among these are some of the articles written by him for Georgia newspapers from the Indian Territory.
3. Three chapters of a handwritten manuscript entitled "Recollections of an Escape from a Northern Prison by an Unreconstructed Rebel." The episode is recorded on lined paper (7 3/4" by 12 1/2"), each sheet of which bears a small circular embossed emblem with the word "Congress" in the top arc, a picture of the Capitol and the words "Irving Mill" in the lower arc of the circle. The manuscript shows signs of wear and water damage but is, for the most part, legible.
4. Two daguerreotype photos of W. O. Tuggle and his wife.
5. An Indian pipe and a bow, relics brought by Tuggle from the Territory.

⁴¹Details of the process of discovery, of interviews granted by members of the Tuggle family, and of the study made of the Tuggle materials with their permission may be found in Hatfield, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-45. Full credit for both the research and the discovery of the Tuggle materials belongs exclusively to Dorothy B. Hatfield. Advice and direction alone in the pursuit of her study and in the organization and presentation of her thesis were provided by Eugene Current-Garcia, co-author of this paper.

⁴²It should be noted here that all three of these ladies were generously cooperative in giving their time and attention to an unknown scholar, and in permitting her to quote and to make photographic copies of the Tuggle papers.

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The Thomas collection is smaller and would be of interest chiefly to a biographer concerned with Tuggle's legal affairs. It contains the following:

1. An unorganized quantity of newspaper clippings similar to Item 2 above.
2. A large assortment of legal papers pertaining to Tuggle's transactions as a LaGrange attorney.
3. A 17-page manuscript, handwritten on blue lined legal paper (8½" by 13"), the contents of which pertain to a legal compilation which may also be the text of a speech.

Although these two collections are of minor concern to the folklorist, having been located first they pointed the way toward the discovery of the much more significant collection owned by Mrs. Bethea. A fascinating sidelight on the history of this material, so urgently sought for in recent decades and so nearly blown to the four winds when the cyclone of 1918 destroyed the Tuggle home in LaGrange, is the dramatic rescue of the scattered manuscripts by Mrs. Bethea's mother, the late Mrs. Orrie Cox Hinton Tuggle Williamson, who passed them on to her daughter. Carefully preserved by the latter since 1938, the extant collection contains the following richly varied assortment of source materials:

1. One notepad diary with covers missing, (approximately 1½" thick and measuring 5½" by 4") completely filled with entries and observations written on both sides of unlined paper. Many entries in pencil but all fairly legible.
2. One Journal containing lined and columned pages, (9" by 3/4"). On the front leather cover in Tuggle's handwriting: "W. O. Tuggle Mem—While in Indian Territory, 1881 and Journal in 1882." Though the covers are badly damaged, the entries are clear. The inside back cover bears an inscription noting that G. W. Grayson presented Tuggle with the blank journal. The first entry, dated Sept. 3, 81, bears the note "Dr. H. F. Buckner" in center top of margin. On the first line, immediately after the above date, is written: "Rev. James McHenry known in Ala. & Ga. in War of 1835-8 as *Jim Henry* related the following Indian Fables."
 1. The rabbit.
 2. How the Rabbit Won the Widow's daughter.
 3. How the Alligators nose was broken.
 4. The boy with the flute & singing birds, etc.

The entries consist of carefully detailed outlines of the stories Tuggle submitted to the Smithsonian in rewritten

manuscript form, together with the sources for them. The outlined entries are astonishingly complete, differing from the later manuscript tales only in lieu of finished orthography. The journal contains many observations of conditions in the Territory, reflecting in their vividly detailed descriptions Tuggle's careful technique of recording everything important he saw and heard.

3. One leather-bound diary containing lined pages (7" by 4 5/8") and covering the period from January 21, 1880 to January 11, 1882. Inscribed on the front cover in Tuggle's handwriting: "W. O. Tuggle LaGrange Georgia Jany 1880." Primarily, this diary records Tuggle's activities in Washington, with numerous references to his work on his manuscripts and his efforts to have them published. Its condition on the whole is fair; its entries, clear.
4. The Manuscript, consisting of about 350 pages, a substantial part of which was copied at the Smithsonian in 1887. For purposes of discussion here, the contents may be subdivided as follows:
 - A. The original tales copied by the Smithsonian.
 - B. The observations in the Territory.⁴³
 - C. The extant chapters of the Black Beaver story.

Among the original manuscripts copied at the Smithsonian the following items are extant:

"The Creation Myth"—five pages, complete

"Medicine Songs"—fourteen pages, complete

"The Terrapin gets his back Broken"—one page, on which the complete story was recorded, though the bottom of this page is torn and missing;⁴⁴

"Indian Fables and Tales"—one page, with introductory paragraph crediting Mr. Robertson as the source;⁴⁵

"Baby Songs"—four pages, written in stanza form on darkly yellowed paper but clearly legible and slightly torn on margin;

Untitled story—one page, complete;⁴⁶

⁴³Mrs. Tuggle in her letters to Powell had written that she was sending some pages from another manuscript of observations in the Territory. According to a note "no copies of observations" (B. A. E. MSS 566 folder), these observations though sent to the Bureau, were significantly not copied in B. A. E. MSS 566.

⁴⁴Swanton copied this tale practically verbatim, though he changed the title. See Swanton, *op. cit.*, No. 53, p. 41.

⁴⁵The Smithsonian's copy of this story deletes the introductory accreditation. (B. A. E. MSS 566) Swanton copied the story with very few minor changes and entitled it "The Big Rock Man." (*Op. cit.*, No. 28, p. 34). For a verbatim copy of the original Tuggle version, see Hatfield, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

⁴⁶Swanton used this story and entitled it "The Monster Turtle." (*op. cit.*, No. 31, p. 37).

"The King of the Tie-Snakes"—four pages, complete, but with edges of pages torn and deteriorating, though writing still legible;⁴⁷

"The Tar Person"—four pages, complete, with notation reading "Chapter 8" on top left side of center, followed by sub-title "Among the preachers at Wewoka Was" and an introductory paragraph naming the source;⁴⁸

One page untitled, containing fragmentary concluding paragraph from story entitled "Rabbit Engineers a Tug of War Between Two Tie-Snakes";⁴⁹

Inasmuch as nearly verbatim copies of all the material listed above under item 4-A are available either in Swanton's work or the B. A. E. MSS 566, it would be pointless to offer facsimile reproduction of these original Tuggle myths here. Yet, because of their special significance, both "The Tar Person" and the "Creation Myth" deserve at least passing notice.⁵⁰ As told by Joel Chandler Harris, "The Wonderful Tar Baby Story" is of course justly famed the world over. The basic story was treated by James Mooney as "The Rabbit and the Tar Wolf," and still later Swanton included it among his collection of Indian myths under the simple title of "The Tar Baby." But the point to remember is that Tuggle's version antedated all these others, for it had been recorded by him in 1881, and it quite possibly fathered them all as well. Moreover, of importance to folklorists especially is the fact that Tuggle specifically named the source of his version of the story.

⁴⁷The Smithsonian copy follows the text of this story exactly and only one minor change from the original was made by Swanton. (*op cit.*).

⁴⁸This is the famous "Tar Baby" story, familiar to all readers of Joel Chandler Harris's version. Swanton changed the title to "The Tar Baby" and omitted the important reference to the source, which appears in the original Tuggle manuscript as "Cusseta-Fixico . . . a full-blooded Muskogee Indian [whose] black eyes sparkled as he told the Indian version of the rabbit and the tar-person." The paragraph containing this reference has been marked through with three slanting parallel lines in brown pencil, above the title "The Tar Person" appearing on the fifth line of the page. Also in brown pencil, but not in Tuggle's handwriting, is a correction of the word "thorn," which is struck out and changed to "splinter."

⁴⁹This is the title as it appears in Swanton, *op. cit.*, No. 50, p. 49. The fragment of the story in the original Tuggle manuscript concludes with the lines "... ordered to drink no more. Such a pretty little creature as you are can always get all the water you wish. So the rabbit went to the pool and drank his fill." The last fifteen lines appearing on the page are marked through with three slanting parallel lines; they give Cusseta-Fixico as the source of a story "concerning the rabbit going to God and complaining of his fate and how he brought the rattlesnake and the swarm of gnats to his Creator." The Smithsonian's title for this story is "Rabbit Pulling Against the Tie Snake."

⁵⁰For verbatim copies of Tuggle's versions of "The Tar Person" and "The Creation of the Earth," see Hatfield, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-54.

Similarly, the importance of the "Creation Myth" is stressed by Swanton, who speaks of the rarity of such myths as this in folklore. With reference to the myths included in his collection, *Myths of the Southeastern Indians*, he points out that the only story in it "which might be called a creation myth is one in the Tuggle series (Creek 90) shown by the native words which it contains to be from the Yuchi."⁵¹ He adds, moreover, that he knows of but one Creek Origin Myth, obtained by Dr. Speck from the Taskigi Creeks,⁵² who had been in such close contact with the Yuchis that "it was questionable whether the story was not originally from the latter [Yuchi] tribe."⁵³ Tuggle's manuscript leaves no doubt that his is the Creation Myth of the Yuchi and that it was obtained at first hand from Chief Samuel W. Brown, Sr., whom Tuggle found to be "an accomodating interpreter."⁵⁴ As early as 1881, this original myth had also been written by Tuggle, a finished narrative, astonishingly comparable to the Biblical Genesis story, with dramatis personae, a narrating "voice," and dialogue. Before July 9, 1883, it had been submitted to J. W. Powell; by 1887, it had been copied at the Bureau of Ethnology; and by 1893, an account of it was published by Gatschet, with no mention of Tuggle's name whatever. Finally it appeared in Mooney's *Cherokee Myths*, squeezed down to a single paragraph precis.⁵⁵ *Sic transit*—

Among the second subdivision of the Bethea collection, referred to above under item 4-B (page 13) as "observations in the Territory," the following items have been preserved:

1. Fragmentary manuscript totaling seven pages (undetermined number of pages missing) and containing parts of three sketches entitled "The Indian Summer Camp," Chapter I;

⁵¹*Op. cit.*, p. 268.

⁵²The reference is to Frank G. Speck, who published *The Creek Indians of Taskigi Towns* in 1907. (*The Memoirs American Anthropological Association*, Vol. II, part 2, Lancaster, Pennsylvania.) In 1909 he also published *Ethnology of the Yuchi Indians*. It can be readily seen that Tuggle's acquisition of this Creation Myth in 1881 antedates Speck's by many years.

⁵³*Op. cit.*, Introduction, p. 1.

⁵⁴According to Dorothy B. Brown, owner and custodian of Chief Samuel W. Brown, Sr.'s, and Chief Samuel W. Brown, Jr.'s extant papers (Mathis, Texas), it was part of the custom to call in the old Yuchi Indians, as the oldest were custodians of the lore, and this respect was shown them by Chief Brown, who did the interpreting. (Letter from Miss Brown to Dorothy Hatfield, April 7, 1960).

⁵⁵*Op. cit.*, p. 421. Mooney quotes the passage from Gatschet and cites it as: "Gatschet, Some Mystic Stories of the Yuchi Indians, in *American Anthropologist*, VI, p. 281, July, 1893."

- "The Misionary Tale," and "The Misiony House," Chapter VI.⁵⁶
2. "Mormons Among the Indians." Designated as Chapter 10 and containing nine handwritten pages. Secured by thread in upper left hand corner.
 3. "Mexican War in the Rear." Designated as Chapter 24 and containing ten clear handwritten pages.
 4. "Scenes at Wewoka." Numbered as Chapter XXVII and containing seven handwritten pages, fastened together with thread in upper left hand corner.
 5. "Closing Scenes at Wewoka." Numbered as Chapter XXX and containing six clear handwritten pages, similarly fastened.
 6. "Indian Doctors." Designated as Chapter XXXII and containing six pages in clear script.
 7. "Among the Mammouth Bones." Numbered Chapter XXXIV and containing twelve pages. Title page shows that "Mammouth" has been substituted for original word "Mastodon."
 8. "Wild Indians at the Fair." Numbered Chapter XXXVII and containing twelve pages in fairly good shape.
 9. "At the Indian Council." Shown as Chapter XXXVIII and containing eleven handwritten pages, easily legible.
 10. "Indian Ideas of Witches. Broken Arrow Camp Ground. Baby Songs." Manuscript containing ten pages is intact and readable, except for yellowed, slightly torn first page; but the "Baby Songs" are not attached as indicated in title. These are extant as a separate 4-page manuscript attached with a brad and entitled "Baby Songs."
 11. "Sam Brown, the Uchee. Gosts, witches. Green Corn dance, or busk." Labeled "Chapter I" at top center margin and containing nine pages, legible though aged and torn around the edges. This portion of the manuscript was evidently intended by Tuggle to be an introductory device to unify and launch his finished book on tribal customs, since Brown was to serve as his intermediary.

Although space limitations obviously preclude the possibility of giving in this paper any adequately representative sampling of the material included in the preceding subdivision of the Bethea collection, it should be noted here that were a sampling possible, the account of The Green Corn Dance or Busk⁵⁷ would be an exemplification of the vivid detail and narrative craftsmanship that characterize Tuggle's

⁵⁶Tuttle consistently employs the old-fashioned double 's' symbol resembling an elongated lower case 'p', throughout his diaries, letters, and manuscripts.

⁵⁷For a more detailed explanation of the term "busk," see Hatfield, *op. cit.*, p. 55, note 22.

entire manuscript. The Green Corn Dance would best serve this purpose, moreover, because of its deep tribal significance as a ceremonial which, for generations, has been traditionally kept among the most revered of Yuchi rituals. Special preparations for the performance are made, and on the square-ground⁵⁸ prescribed seating arrangements are followed and rigid protocol is observed. Only on this occasion are the sacred vessels displayed, as Tuggle himself discovered when, in 1879, he asked to see the vessels and was refused with the polite explanation that they were only taken up at busk. Fortunately, however, Tuggle did succeed in obtaining the story of the busk. He relates that Sam Brown called in a Yuchi named "Gen'l Cooper," and as Cooper told the story Sam Brown interpreted it.⁵⁹ This account, listed above as item 11, the Bureau of Ethnology at the Smithsonian has no copy of.⁶⁰

Though clearly lacking the stylistic polish of a professional writer's finished work, Tuggle's expository narrative technique in the Green Corn Dance or Busk reveals more than a negligible ability to select, organize, and set forth dramatically the significant details on which effective characterization, action, and humorous appeal are based. He knew how to gather the requisite materials; how to ask questions; how to pick and choose among the responses he got; how to combine and develop them in a fluid pattern and a succinct style. Had he lived long enough to re-work his materials and sharpen his effects, it seems safe to assume that his book of observations on Yuchi customs would long ago have been published and recognized as a major pioneering effort in the field of anthropology.

Much the same might be said too of the book he intended to make of his Black Beaver manuscript, the third significant piece listed above as Item 4-C in the Bethea collection. Of the three, this manuscript is now the most fragmentary, as only a little more than half of the original has been preserved, a total of 179 pages. Since Tuggle himself recorded in his diary that he had submitted it to Harpers for publication and that it would make a book of about 350 pages, it seems likely that a manuscript of at least that length

⁵⁸See *Ibid.*, note 23, for description of the replica of the Yuchi squareground, which is housed in the Columbus Museum at Columbus, Georgia.

⁵⁹In response to the question: "Could you identify a 'General Cooper' of the 1880's?" Miss Brown said, "Yes, he was a respected Yuchi of olden times who occupied a high place in the Yuchi tribe." (Personal interview by conference telephone call to Miss Dorothy Brown, Mathis, Texas, July 11, 1960.)

⁶⁰The Bureau made no copies of any of the material included in this subdivision of the Bethea collection. (See *supra*, p. 14, note 43.)

had already been written.⁶¹ This assumption is further confirmed by the fact that the extant Black Beaver manuscript presents the same orderly arrangement and chapter divisions as shown in the other manuscripts, and that as many as forty-two chapters of the story are accounted for.⁶² As more careful editing of the material in the Bethea collection proceeds, some of the presently unassigned sheets in the collection may be found belonging to the Black Beaver story, though it is doubtful whether this portion of Tuggle's manuscript can ever be fully restored.

At the present stage of our study of Tuggle's original materials, however, it would be premature to discriminate between what can and cannot be fruitfully accomplished in editing his manuscripts. Nor is this the place to attempt it. Enough has been set forth here to support our view of Tuggle as one of the most seriously neglected pioneers in American cultural history. Thanks to his concern for antiquity, he recognized the charm of Yuchi folktales and captured them in written form before they were lost and forgotten, a task in itself involving hardships and privations endured in the quest for those tales, as his diary entries reveal. But every record of his experiences contributes something to the panorama of historical, economic, social, and religious conditions he encountered in the Indian Territory of 1879-81. More important yet—Tuttle knew that in order to preserve the literary antiquities he sought he must capture them before their authentic sources had passed from the scene, and his efforts were directed toward that end. Always in his extensive travels he sought out those who could qualify as a source for the tales and myths of the tribes.

In answer to the question: "What would qualify a 'source' as authentic for tribal culture, history, and material so related?" Dorothy Brown offered as a summation of "the attitude of my father and grandfather" the following reply:

It would have to be a person who held an official position in the squareground and had started from the beginning of his life to prepare for this position completing the degree as his life progressed. To have proven himself true to his religion and people enough to be trusted with the sacred past, and inner secrets of the mystic Lodge. There were very few who ever completed this training. My father [Samuel W. Brown, Jr.,

⁶¹Diary, *loc. cit.*; cf. *supra*, p. 5.

⁶²For an excerpt from chapter 42 of the Black Beaver story, see Hatfield, *op. cit.*, p. 62-63.

Chief of the Yuchis] was the last who completed them all, and much of it went with his passing.⁶³

Is it not remarkable that William Tuggle, in 1881, long before the "passing," had obtained from Samuel W. Brown, Sr., the "Creation Myth?" This manuscript alone should warrant classifying Tuggle as a major collector of authentic American Indian folklore.

Authenticity is being diligently sought at present in all areas of Indian life. Extensive archeological explorations of Indian villages in the Chattahoochee River area are proceeding rapidly, for example, and great emphasis is placed on all or any information pertinent to the Yuchi Indians. As Dr. A. R. Kelly, Professor of Anthropology at the University of Georgia, currently engaged in these explorations, has said: "Progress in our diggings in search of the history of the Yuchis is . . . a three-pronged attack . . . I mean that we are studying the language, the folk-lore, or mythology, and actual archeological discoveries.⁶⁴ Dr. Kelly further stated that various ceremonials and medicines of the Indians of eastern Georgia closely resemble those of the Yuchis along the Chattahoochee and may be related. In the light of this knowledge it is obvious that Tuggle's careful collection of Yuchi medicine songs, which he translated into English, as well as his folktales and observations, would contribute much to the success of that three-pronged attack.

In a sense, Tuggle's literary contribution is two-fold, since he not only gathered his folktales at the source and in the culture within which they had been handed down by word of mouth from generation to generation, but also served as a source for the many who drew from his material. By their own admission, Swanton and Mooney consciously used it and acknowledged it as Tuggle's. Harris likewise saw the Tuggle manuscript and whether, consciously or unconsciously, he drew materials from it, he nevertheless wrote six stories which parallel Tuggle's with more than ordinarily accidental similarity. But Tuggle left to posterity yet more abundant evidence of his efforts to perpetuate our American heritage, and he offered the fruit of his labors to our national institutions. From his own excavations in the Indian mounds, he made donations of his findings to our National

⁶³For details of the rank achieved by the Browns, *pere et fils*, as chiefs of the Yuchis, see Hatfield, *op. cit.*, p. 66, note 1.

⁶⁴Address made by Dr. A. R. Kelly to the members of the Coweta Memorial Association, June 23, 1960, at the Columbus Museum of Arts and Crafts, Columbus, Georgia.

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Museum;⁶⁵ while to the Bureau of American Ethnology he offered his writings, which depict every phase of life in the Territory from the making of an Indian baby's cradle to the establishment of the laws, marriage customs, and education of the Yuchi Indians and to the secret rituals of their ceremonial dances.

Tuggle's manifold value to specialists in these related fields of American culture can be seen, finally, in the statement of Dr. Frank H. H. Roberts, Jr., present Director of the Bureau of American Ethnology, who admitted recently: "We would like very much to know from what Creek Indian or Indians Tuggle recorded the myths, and whether he perhaps had other manuscripts of this kind which were not sent to the Bureau."⁶⁶ As further study of Tuggle's original materials is now going forth, these questions can be answered. The discovery of the Tuggle collection is therefore but the first step in providing students of American history, folklore, archeology, and anthropology with a rich new source of original materials. But it is also a step toward bringing to light an unsung hero of the past, whose chief concern was for the preservation of our antiquity.

D. B. H. — *Columbus College*

E. C. G. — *Auburn University*

⁶⁵For details, see Hatfield, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

⁶⁶Letter from Dr. Roberts to Dorothy Hatfield, February 10, 1960.

THE WIZARD CLIP: AN OLD POTOMAC LEGEND

by
Cecil D. Eby, Jr., and Jack B. Moore

THE WEDGE OF LAND lying to the west of the junction of the Shenandoah and Potomac Rivers became, in the last decade of the eighteenth century, the setting for one of the most persistent tales of wizardry in Virginia demonography. During the Colonial period the region was settled rapidly by floods of immigrants—Swiss, German, English, and Scots-Irish—each of which tried to preserve its individual folkways from contamination by other ethnic groups. The result was a series of autonomous settlements suspicious of one another and jealous of their particular cultural eccentricities. One English traveler, George Featherstonhaugh, who passed through the region as late as the 1830's, observed that the beauty of the natural scenery was in striking contrast to "the ignorance and superstition" of its natives, all of which, according to his account, believed firmly in witchcraft and the devil.¹ Although he did not specify, the Englishman may have had in mind tales he had heard in the village of Smithfield, where he took his breakfast on the way to Winchester. For Smithfield (now Middleway, West Virginia) had been the scene, just forty years before, of the fantastic activities of a supernatural being known as the Wizard Clip.

As one would suspect, the Wizard Clip legend is a strange mixture of historical and apocryphal elements, in which real people are superimposed upon fictional events. The story has been recorded many times and in many ways, but the outlines of the legend—if not the variations of detail—coincide remarkably. Present natives of Middleway still tell the story, for the most part basing their accounts upon oral rather than written traditions. So durable has the legend been that the village is still called Clip by the older people in the vicinity and even in our century a private school once flourished in Middleway with the official name of "The Clip Academy."

In the account that follows, the compilers have preserved, wherever possible, the phrasing and structure of the legend. Where the sources are indefinite, our version is, by necessity, indefinite as well.² All of

¹George W. Featherstonhaugh, *Excursion through the Slave States* (London, 1844), I, 17.

²Our composite version is based upon the following written sources: 1) [H. H. Hardesty], *Historical Hand-Atlas* (Berkeley and Jefferson County edition) (Chi-

the characters are persons whose real existence may be proved—except, of course, the irascible Wizard himself.

* * *

In 1790, Adam Livingston, apparently out of dissatisfaction, moved from Lancaster, Pennsylvania, to what was then Smithfield, Virginia. He bought a house on the western rim of town along the Bunker Hill road, and occupied it with his wife, three sons, and four daughters (the names of only four of his children—Eve, Catherine, John, and Henry—are mentioned in the various accounts). In 1794 a stranger appeared at the Livingston house. Reports vary concerning his arrival. Some claim that he first applied for a room at the local tavern, but finding none was told to ask for lodgings at the Livingston home. Another version has him appearing first at Livingston's. In any case, Livingston, described as an honest and hospitable farmer, took the traveler in. The identity of the stranger is never given, but he is portrayed as middle-aged, respectable in appearance, poor, and Irish.

Reports also vary concerning what actually happened after his arrival. He was sick upon arrival: he was not sick. He was housed for several days before he became ill: he grew ill the very night he arrived. But one evening Livingston heard his moans and was summoned to the stranger's room. The man said that he was a Catholic, that he was dying, and that he wanted to see a priest. Livingston bluntly refused the request. One variant states that Livingston was a bigoted Lutheran who knew of no priest in that neighborhood and even if there were one, he should never pass the threshold of his door. Another variant has it that Livingston, "a tight-laced Protestant," could not be bothered at that hour. Still another places the burden of refusal upon Mrs. Livingston. In any case, the priest was denied, and the stranger died unshaven. Shortly thereafter, the wizardry began.

A friend, Jacob Foster, was employed to sit as wakesman for the corpse. Most versions state that the candles in the death room flickered and went out from time to time, although Livingston knew that they were not defective. One version claims that nothing unusual happened during Foster's watch, but others mention his hasty departure

cago and Toledo), 1883, pp. 24-25; 2) The Shepherdstown (West Virginia) *Register*, November 8, 1922; republished in Marguerite D. Lee, *Virginia Ghosts* (Richmond, 1930) with additional remarks, pp. 89-94; field notes prepared for the WPA writers series on West Virginia, in the possession of Cecil D. Eby; 4) Robert L. Bates, "Middleway, A Study in Social History," *West Virginia History*, XI (October, 1949), 13-20.

from the scene. Some time later, Livingston heard the rumble of galloping horses. They clattered down the road or circled his house, but always when he tried to see them, they vanished. After the corpse had been buried, the worst manifestations began.

Only a few days after the interment, a passing horseman found a taut rope stretched across the road. The rider called out to Livingston to remove the obstruction, but when both of them clutched at opposite ends of the suspended rope, they grabbed only air. The rope had disappeared before their eyes.

Soon Livingston and his family experienced even more frightening evidence of the sinister manifestations. About a week later, stones rained on the house and the crockery on the shelves tumbled or was dashed to the floor. Money disappeared from the chest, and furniture banged about with nothing visible directing it. At midnight it sounded as though the chairs and tables were dancing in the room. Further, Livingston's cattle died and his fowl dropped dead. The heads of his turkeys and chickens dropped off; his ducks' heads were chopped off.

Fire struck, too. The barn burned down, and in the house chunks of wood leaped from the fireplace. Sometimes fire-balls rolled around the floor. Fire flashed repeatedly from their beds. It was little wonder that one of Livingston's daughters became so frightened that she nearly died.

Then, most terrible of all, the sound of a large pair of scissors, or clippers, was heard throughout the house, constantly snipping but never seen. The invisible shears cut almost everything—blankets, sheets, counterpanes, boots, saddles, bridles, and clothing. Wearing apparel hanging on the walls, dress and linens locked in trunks were cut by the shears. Though some of the objects were sliced into ribbons, the usual shape of the slash was a half-moon or cresent.

For about three months the clippings continued. Curiosity seekers from thirty miles around came to Smithfield. Respectable scoffers witnessed the reality of the mysterious occurrences. One skeptical woman had a shawl ruined by the Clipper. Three young cynics from Winchester bellowed their disbelief and offered to spend a night in Livingston's house. One variant states that as soon as they were comfortably seated for their vigil, a large stone left the fireplace and whirled swiftly around the floor, hastening the departure of the adventurers. Another states that they sat comfortably until midnight, when they heard a rumbling from the chimney, a rumbling that grew increasingly louder. Suddenly a large stone dropped from the chimney,

scattered and extinguished the fire, and in the darkness rolled to their feet. The stone apparently extinguished their spirits as well, for they left in haste.

One pious Presbyterian lady from Martinsburg also entered the Livingston house. Before stepping inside, she took her new black silk cap from her head, wrapped it in a silk handkerchief, and put it in her pocket. After she had left the house—to the amazement of herself and her friends, she found that her cap was cut into narrow ribbons and her handkerchief into a shredded pattern of small half-moons. At another time, a well-known dandy in a swallowtail coat entered the house and emerged with his coattails cut into shreds.

Eventually, some visiting Methodist ministers confronted the invisible Wizard. One was struck in the face by a pillow, while the other was soured with sour milk from a crock. Members of the family found the outline of a hand burned into a piece of cloth; once the letters *IHS* were discovered, burned into another cloth.

In the midst of these depredations Livingston had a dream. He found himself climbing a steep and high mountain. In order to move up the acclivity, he had to grasp at roots and bushes. At the summit he found an imposing figure dressed in flowing white robes and heard a voice urging him to seek relief from the figure.

After hearing about his dream, neighbors advised him to seek the Episcopal minister at Winchester, but his visit was profitless. Next he was advised to talk with the McSherry family, Roman Catholics who lived about a mile east of Leetown.¹ On the following Sunday Mr. and Mrs. McSherry and Joseph Minghini conducted Livingston to a service at Shepherdstown. When the priest, dressed in his canonicles, appeared at the altar, Livingston seemed overcome, wept, and loudly shouted, "This is the very man I saw in my dream; he is the one that the voice told me would relieve me from my troubles."

The priest, Dennis Cahill, upon hearing Livingston's story, suggested that he watch his neighbors more carefully and was inclined to laugh at the story. But the McSherrys and Minghini were so moved by the utter desolation of Livingston that they persuaded Cahill to go with them to Livingston's house. Another version states that Cahill, after declaring his sympathy for Livingston, told him that the Church could not countenance a belief in witchcraft. Further, he said that it was nevertheless his duty to administer to all those who were afflicted in mind or body and that he would accompany the grief-stricken farmer to his home.

As a result of sprinkling holy water about, the depredations ceased, although the sound of the clipping persisted. However, after a mass was celebrated in the house, the Wizard Clipper disappeared forever. About a mile away lies a spring, said to be bottomless. Some say that the exorcized demon has plunged into it. At any rate, the terrible snippers were never heard of again, except in the Legend of Wizard Clip.

* * *

The Wizard Clip legend has a sequel, the particulars of which can be supported by historical fact. In the year following his harrowing experience, Adam Livingston purchased the lumber in order to build another home. Then toward the turn of the century he returned with his family to Pennsylvania. Before he left Middleway, he conveyed a tract of land to the Catholic Church through a trusteeship administered by the Reverend Dennis Cahill, Richard McSherry, Joseph Minghini, and one Clement Pierce. Curiously, there appears one other name on the deed—a signature that has remained undecipherable because of its weird, erratic lettering.³ Although one cannot say it is, yet one cannot say it is not the signature of the Wizard himself. And on the tract of land outside Middleway—a plot known locally as "Priest's Field"—lies the ruin of an ancient building. Not far off, a rough, unmarked stone marks the grave of someone—perhaps the nameless stranger who once knocked at the door of Adam Livingston.

Washington and Lee University

³Jefferson County Court Records, Deed Book I, p. 152.

BOOK REVIEWS

BEATRICE LANDECK. *Echoes of Africa in Folk Songs of the Americas.*
New York: David McKay Co., 1961. viii, 184 pp.

If enthusiasm and catholicity of taste were acceptable substitutes for scholarship and reliable methodology Miss Landeck's book would have value as well as appeal. Unfortunately, the determination of the authoress to find "African echoes" in music of the most disparate types has resulted in some untenable conclusions and some highly suspect musical versions.

It would be useless to tabulate the many errors in this publication. Perhaps in Miss Landeck's eyes they do not constitute errors, but merely attempts to make her material as interesting and absorbing to others as it is to herself. Those who know any of this music at first hand will be saddened to find pieces like the Badouma Paddlers song from French Equatorial Africa tricked out with a complex rhythmic accompaniment for drums which it does not possess in the original. The "transcription" of this piece ignores completely the fascinating tonal organization of the recording and fits its melody into a straightforward Western A major. (Incidentally, how could Miss Landeck have ignored the delightful Bongili work song, from the same source?)

The book is organized in four main sections, entitled From Africa to the New World, On the Shores of the Caribbean, In South and Central America, and Song Roots of Jazz in the United States. The selections chosen to illustrate this parade of "Negro" music include African songs (provided with Calypso-type English lyrics), congas, bamboulas, marches, aquinaldos, sambas, spirituals, blues, and minstrel songs, to mention only a few. Almost any of the examples cited would perhaps prove a strong case *against* the writer's fundamental thesis. This is not to say that African elements, usages, and techniques are not to be found transplanted in the music of the Negroes of the world but these factors pale into insignificance beside the amazing pliability and adaptability of the Negro musician who so readily assimilates and adopts the music of his host country, turning it comfortably to his own usage. The American Negro spiritual is the best instance of this fact but many others might be cited.

Three of the most astonishing inclusions are to be found in the section on the Blues. They include "Ten Thousand Miles," "Darlin'

Cory," and "Go 'Way from my Window." Three less appropriate examples could hardly have been found in that these are not originally Negro songs and do not even have the time-honored form of all the traditional blues.

Presumably Miss Landeck's book is designed for schoolroom use. As such it will undoubtedly be of practical value in that the selections are well arranged for performance by children and most of the presentations would be simple and effective. Furthermore it will introduce students to a valuable repertory of unusual and worthwhile music and should serve to broaden their musical horizons. It is to be hoped that alert teachers can at the same time exercise the proper correctives in using this book as a reference and expose their students to some of the many authentic recordings taken from field sources.

WILTON MASON

University of North Carolina

Tales of Edisto. By NELL S. GRAYDON. Atlanta: Tupper and Love. 1960. 166 pp. \$5.25.

The present volume represents the reprinting of a work published originally in 1955. It is essentially a rather loosely-constructed collection of interesting facts, anecdotes, and episodes centering around the activities of the early families on Edisto Island. Excerpts from old letters and family chronicles, newspaper accounts, and items from such magazines as *The State*, *The State Magazine*, the *South Carolina Historical Review* are drawn upon. Photographs by Carl Julian add much to the charm of the volume.

Edisto Island, forty miles southwest of Charleston, took its name from the Edistow tribe of Indians, which settled on the banks of the North Edisto River, probably as early as 1674. Rice and later indigo were raised by the planters who settled the region. Cotton, coming into prominence at the end of the eighteenth century, was raised and sold in European markets, bringing untold wealth to the island planters. Children were educated in Europe. The rich settlers had town houses and made summer trips north. Such prosperity was ended, of course, by the outbreak of the Civil War.

Among the families accenting the affluence of colonial times, the author singles out several, describing their estates, their way of life including in the process entertaining, informative highlights on their outstanding members.

Colorful events in the lives of the Townsends, Whaleys, Seabrooks, Mikells, and Jenkins are related in the section entitled "The Planters." One reads with interest of Mrs. Daniel Jenkins, who, when ill in Charleston in 1780 and unable to return to Edisto Island because of the British blockade, left a dying request that her two negro servants take her child back home. When their mistress died, they buried her and then, facing hardship and danger, carried out her instructions. We learn of the thievery of freed slaves after the Confederate War. We meet Edward Whaley, who was educated in Europe, who had seven sons and a wife who hated his inclination to duel. On one occasion he posted riders at five-mile intervals to carry the news of his duel in Charleston to her in Edisto. William Seabrook, described as a "gentle, lovable, successful planter," was visited by the Marquis de Lafayette in 1825, at which time he christened his daughter with the Marquis holding her and bestowing on her the middle name of Lafayette. When Isaac Mikell, builder of Peter's Point in 1840, was asked by his grandchild about his four wives, he replied: "It has been so long ago I don't remember the first one, the second one was your grandmother and she brought me wealth and success, the third was the love of my life, and the fourth is the comfort of my old age." These represent but a sampling of the personnages we meet.

About half of the text is devoted to items of negro folklore—folk-songs, legends, etc., and to a leisurely browsing through such island pasttimes as hunting and fishing. Some of the churches are brought into the story with notes on their establishment and membership. Included are some favorite island cooking recipes such as those for Chicken Crab gumbo and Edisto oyster stew. Among the Voo-Doo practices and beliefs of the negroes is the story of Maum Rachel, a colored midwife with a knowledge of conjure, who saved the life of a girl about to die in childbirth by "quilling" her, i.e., blowing snuff in her face, thereby causing her to sneeze, after which she began to recover. Interestingly, prior to Maum Rachel's ministration the attending physician had lost hope of saving her. Accounts of ghosts, of the unwrapping of a doll made to resemble one's victim, the spirit that has to return to the grave before dawn, and that of the spirit that had forgotten something returning to the place where she was accidentally shot, all these are of some interest to the folklorist.

Such casual wandering through the byways of family history and reminiscence possesses a peculiar charm all its own which it imparts to the reader. Enhanced by the fine photographs of numbers of planta-

tion homes, the total effect of the volume is that of pleasant entertainment. The fact that the material included does little more than scratch the surface of the fascinating and at times deeply moving story of the island settlements in no way detracts from the work. It is what the majority of readers will want, and it will serve to stimulate many to delve more deeply into the early history of the island.

GEORGE C. S. ADAMS

Wofford College

The Hundred Tales (Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles). Translated by ROSELL HOPE ROBBINS. Illustrated by ALEXANDER DOBKIN. New York, Crown Publishers, Inc., 1960. Pp. xxvi, 390. \$6.00.

A lively and complete translation of this important fifteenth century collection is indeed welcome. Dr. Robbins' text supercedes the less than *One Hundred Merrie and Delightsome Tales* translated by R. B. Douglas (1889) and reprinted by A. Machen (1924). While assessing correctly the desirability of an accessible English version, the "present book is not, however, primarily addressed to students (p.v)." Rather, the translator states that he has "striven to be faithful to the Old French of the manuscript, yet recreate in terms of the twentieth century the spirit of the original—a highly literate and sophisticated narration." It is then less as a scholarly than as a creative endeavor that his efforts should be viewed.

The introductory remarks stress the importance of the *Cent Nouvelles nouvelles* in the development of the secular prose tale. In the main they iterate the late nineteenth and early twentieth century emphasis on the historical realism of the narratives, plus a few fillips for artistic embellishments. To suggest their veracious substance, Dr. Robbins borrows P. Champion's (*inter alios*) device of quoting from contemporary archives. Although he appends a selected list of analogues, each with a motif classification from the Thompson *Index*, the translator accepts the likelihood of a goodly number of real events, if not oral tradition, as immediate sources. He evokes the problems of authorship (Antoine de la Sale?) and date of composition (1456-61?). The principal interlocutors are identified historically. Equal credence is accorded the possibility of a reality situation—the (real) stories were actually exchanged, then recorded—and the traditional conven-

tion of the frame. The introduction concludes with the liberation of the short prose narrative from *tendenz* or exemplary stories which illustrate a preconceived point of view. "In this freeing of literature from philosophy and religion lies the work's greatest importance, an achievement which showed fiction the only path by which it could reach its full growth—the faithful and realistic portrayal of life as the author sees it. (p. xxi)."

The text, presumably based on the Glasgow manuscript, differs from the original in that Dr. Robbins relegates the names of the interlocutors to the Appendix and adds his own titles to each tale. These changes, if unscholarly, do contribute a more contemporary patina, seconded by the wryly impressionistic drawings of Alexander Dobkin.

The translation of the tales themselves is, I feel, surprisingly good. This has been accomplished less by a reliance upon twentieth century idioms, American at least, than by a frequent choice of cultivated if not mildly archaic words and constructions: e.g., "expostulated" for *dit*, "shiven." Dr. Robbins' skill at syntactical manipulation smooths redundancies, ambiguities and colloquialisms. Visually, the articulation of the stories is enhanced by liberal paragraphing. Stylistically, the present volume is if anything more elegant than the original.

Dr. Robbins has provided the general public with an attractive and readable rendition. The appended analogues and bibliography can also be of help to the specialist. I was sorry not to find mention of the early sixteenth century French *Cent Nouvelles nouvelles* by Philip de Vigneulles, although this is understandable in that Professor Livingston has not yet published his manuscript of the collection. Also lacking was reference to Dr. Janet Ferrier's perceptive chapter on the *Cent Nouv. nouv.* in her *Forerunners of the French Novel* (Manchester, 1958, pp. 22-53, et passim). More important, perhaps, than the representation of reality, "a faithful and realistic portrayal of life as the author sees it," the *Cent Nouvelles nouvelles* exemplifies the late medieval delight in meticulous craftsmanship. The stylised mould of the tales, the ingenious twists accorded a few basic situations, the predominance of method over matter or theme—these characteristics point to a preoccupation with formal variations rather than to concern with local events, psychological analysis or moral observation. Dr. Robbin's translation conveys this sense of form more forcefully than do his critical comments.

RICHARD L. FRAUTSCHI

University of North Carolina

The Epic of Gilgamesh. (Translated by N. K. SANDARS) The Penguin Classics. Baltimore, Maryland. 128. pp. \$95.

Surely the oldest surviving repository of folk motifs is *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, a Sumerian epic that must have been already written down in the first centuries of the second millennium B.C. The earliest surviving account of it comes to us from the Assyrian and from no less famous a library than that of King Assurbanipal at Nineveh. What survives of the famous epic poem is a continuous tale, but scattered through it are examples of the most ancient of motifs, older than those in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, older than the tales of Ancient Egypt, in short, the most ancient motifs that have reached us out of the remote past. Folklorists and students of comparative literature will find an account of the flood, with details (such as the birds let loose by the occupants of an ark), of men turned to wolves by a vindictive goddess (reminiscent of Circe, but far more ancient), of the invincible strong man overcome by the powers of love, and of a journey to the land where one may find everlasting life.

Until the present printing this interesting piece of literature has been hard to come by in English translation and when available, expensive. The volume now printed by The Penguin Classics is attractive, sound in its scholarship, and reasonably priced. N. K. Sandars has made a delightful, and, at the same time, a reliable translation. There is a long and scholarly introduction, couched in terms readily understandable to the average educated reader; at the end of the book is found a Glossary of Names in which Sandars lists the principal deities and personages mentioned in the epic.

Any folklorists interested in the rise and development of motifs and any student of comparative literature attracted by the beginnings of epicry and ancient story will be gratified to own *The Epic of Gilgamesh*.

JOHN E. KELLER

University of North Carolina

NOTICE

1962 SUMMER FOLKLORE INSTITUTE

The Sixth Folklore Institute of America will be held at Indiana University from June 13 to August 10. Distinguished visiting folklorists include MacEdward Leach, president of the American Folklore Society; Archer Taylor, past president of the Modern Language Association; Toichi Mabuchi of Tokyo, Japan; and Robert Wildhaber of Basel, Switzerland.

Courses will be offered on European folklore and folk art, the folklore of southeast Asia; oral literature; the proverb and the riddle; and the traditional ballad.

Also there will be workshop courses on folklore archiving, the folk museum, and fieldwork. A certificate will be given to participants satisfactorily completing six or more credits. Courses carry regular credit in the Summer Session.

A summer meeting of the American Folklore Society will be held in conjunction with the Folklore Institute on July 27 and 28. Fellows of the Society will lead panel discussions. A forum on "Folk Literature of Asia" will be held June 21 as one session of the Third Conference on Oriental-Western Literary and Cultural Relations.

For applications write Richard M. Dorson, Chairman, Folklore Program, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.





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